DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 042 741	TE 001 605

AUTHOR	Leary, Lewis, Ed.
TITLE	The Teacher and American Literature. Papers Presented at the 1964 Convention of the National Council of Teachers of English.
INSTITUTION	National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill.
PUB DATE	65
NOTE	194p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$9.80
DESCRIPTORS	American Culture, *American Literature, Authors, Biographies, Childrens Books, Elementary School Curriculum, Literary Analysis, *Literary Criticism, *Literature Programs, Novels, Poetry, Short Stories

ABSTRACT

Eighteen papers on recent scholarship and its implications for school programs treat American ideas, novels, short stories, poetry, Emerson and Thoreau, Hawthorne and Melville, Whitman and Dickinson, Twain and Henry James, and Faulkner and Hemingway. Authors are Edwin H. Cady, Edward J. Gordon, William Peden, Paul H. Krueger, Bernard Duffey, John A. Myers, Jr., Theodore Hornberger, J. N. Hook, Walter Harding, Betty Harrelson Porter, Arlin Turner, Robert E. Shafer, Edmund Reiss, Sister M. Judine, Howard W. Webb, Jr., Frank H. Townsend, Richard P. Adams, and John N. Terrey. In five additional papers, Willard Thorp and Alfred H. Grommon discuss the relationship of the teacher and curriculum to new approaches in American literature, while Dora V. Smith, Ruth A. French, and Charlemae Rollins deal with the implications of American literature for elementary school programs and for children's reading. (MF)

ED0 42741

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THE TEACHER AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

Papers Presented at the 1964 Convention of the National Council of Teachers of English

Edited by
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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

TE 001 605

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Introduction

The following papers were read at the 1964 meeting of the National Council of Teachers of English in Cleveland. Because several of them were presented concurrently, so that hearing one meant missing others, and because many who did hear one or more of them expressed a wish to have all of the papers available for future study, they are now gathered for distribution to members of the Council or to others who are interested in the relationship between scholarship and teaching. A number of the papers have been expanded beyond the limits imposed by time when originally presented, with the result, it is hoped, of providing an even fuller and more useful consideration of these relationships as they apply to genres or to important writers of American literature.

Activity in the study and critical interpretation of literature produced in the United States continues to move at an increasingly accelerated pace. The writers about whom we most like to talk are not greatly increased in number, but the number of us who talk about those writers has escalated quite beyond easily controllable proportions. So much literary commentary appears that even bibliographers concerned with academic bookkeeping are bewildered by the task of recording it all. Estimations are even now being made that, if the present rate of increase continues, all the pages of each issue of the periodical *American Literature* will be needed just to register them.

Some people have supposed that quite too much is written. Only half jokingly, they call for a moratorium in public discussion of literature. They admit that today's multitude of critical voices does provide an impressive and swelling chorus, except that some members of it are undertrained, and some are overtrained to a shrillness which does not always seem harmoniously appropriate. No voice goes quite to the extreme of twittering that *Moby Dick* is a badly conceived novel because Captain Ahab was not practically a realist: if he had really wanted to annihilate that white whale, he would have mounted a cannon on the foredeck of the *Pequod* and blasted the monster out of the ocean. But variations of interpretation there are, many of them excellent, some accepted as provisional or provocative, others simply not good at all. How then is one to distinguish the spurious from the genuine article? How indeed is he to find time to read them all? Or even to discover what has been talked about?

Faced with such an onslaught, with *Playboy* and *Esquire* competing with *PMLA*, *College English*, *Commentary*, and the *Partisan Review* in printing essays in literary interpretation, what is the beleaguered teacher – already half buried beneath an avalanche of paperbacked critical studies – to do? He has been led to suspect that much of the material which does come to his attention has been written by people more concerned with parading knowledge for the sake of professional advancement than for love of knowledge itself. His recreational reading in the pages of *Life* magazine has informed him of the doctrine of publish-or-perish which according to vulgar opinion is a motivating principle in institutions of what is called higher learning. However well he may understand that these things are exaggerated and political or are set forth by people who for quite other reasons have failed, they are disturbing. They nibble at his good intentions.

Supply does exceed any reader's demand. And yet the supply of writing about literature also far exceeds the space available for it in periodicals. Almost every literary magazine refuses three times the number of articles that it accepts. Five books are rejected for every one published. The result may be that one is overwhelmed now by an additional sense of a tremendous and surging reserve of commentary which has not found its place in print, but which is menacingly waiting to overtake us all. Some of it, even in doctoral dissertations or seminar papers, is very good indeed, more helpful to most teachers than much of what is easily available; but it is there, discouragingly because unattainable. Looking up then from the mass of opinion and counteropinion under which he – and perhaps literature itself – is buried, the teacher has reason to be tempted to retreat from it all in dismay. Did not Emerson counsel self-reliance?

Perhaps it is not necessary to keep up. It may even be unwise to try. More than one of the papers which follow suggest by statement or implication the sensible truth that there is no substitute for the literature itself. A fifth or a tenth reading of *Moby Dick* or "Song of Myself" may reveal more than half a hundred articles reveal. To recognize the Mississippi River as a "great brown god" may not be as important as to live with the adventures of Jim and Huck and to interpret them against the background of one's own experience. Thoreau's residence beside Walden Pond needs little explanation which Thoreau himself does not provide. If Hawthorne conceals as much as he reveals, cannot one man's wit solve his riddle as well as another's? To lead our students toward the habit of reading and of reading as widely and as intelligently as possible is, after all, our irresistible responsibility. Neither they nor we are really interested in off-beat interpretations. White boy and dusky demon indeed! Nothing takes the place of the book, the story, the poem before us. My measure is as good as yours.

But is it really? Every teacher knows how revelatory but finally attenuated the do-it-yourself approach to literature can become. It can measure with some perhaps pleasing accuracy what the commentator, whether student or teacher, is prepared at the time he reads to bring to the literature which he then reads. It may produce insight or revelation or sudden shock of fresh recognition, but it is revelation which can only be communicated in terms of the commentor's own experience, which is likely to be private and limited and often incapable of being adequately spoken. It can only be known in terms of what the commentator already knows, and thus becomes an adjunct to experience rather than experience itself. It reveals the dimensions of what the commentator is now, without allowing for the growth which listening to another commentator's opinion can provide. The more firmly and cogently this do-it-yourself or understand-it-yourself attitude is expressed, the more it may harden to personal dogma, so that *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* can continue to be only what it was when first read in childhood. Literature is meant to be self-satisfying in that sense, but not exclusively.

For literature when fully revealed is perhaps also the most seminal and important element in the educative process. It is language come alive, most persuasively, most suggestively. It is language as someone else has spoken it, so that understanding it requires knowledge of that other person, why he spoke as he did, when, and to whom. It requires recognition of linguistic devices, of the tricks of the trade: how it was that the writer was able to produce what effects on what readers, when he cheated, when he overreached. It demands of every student enough recognition of himself to allow him to realize that, because he is what he is, he may misread or misplace emphasis. It teaches him to what degree and in what sense the writer is speaking to him, but in what sense he speaks to different people also.

Beyond its private charm as self-revealing or self-satisfying discovery, literature has always been recognized for its power in extending self, of drawing the reader out of himself, even of becoming catharsis to self. Because education, in its proper use and according to its root meaning, is a leading out, every successful teacher is familiar with the classroom experience of leading out from a single and private interpretation to consideration of another, perhaps conflicting, single interpretation. He knows that each new angle of insight helps release the student from himself at the same time that it contributes to a surer understanding of himself and of the work being read. For recognition of the multiplicity of suggestion contained in any work of literary art is probably the first step toward understanding literature. And in this the teacher usually welcomes aid.

Those who prefer to go it alone inevitably confine literature within their own limitations. To remain alive to the possibilities within any fiction or poetry, as within anything else, requires continuing diligence and great contributions of time. Facts are required, though in the main these are not difficult to learn; the only problem is that new facts are being discovered, about writers, about conditions of publication, about idiosyncrasies in taste, and new facts may cause old certainties to tumble. They can be small facts, but they are cumulative, and they gnaw at the bases of yesterday's opinion. They argue with and, when listened to, may amend private and once self-satisfying interpretation, so that literature becomes, in Northrop Frye's term, an object of study, rather than a subject, but a pulsating object, affective and redemptive at the same time that it is educative, leading out beyond self toward apprehension of relations.

Knowing what literature once meant to readers is helpful in knowing what it can mean now. Hawthorne's intentions aside, *The Scarlet Letter* means something different to our generations than it did to readers one hundred years ago who were diverted (perhaps because Hawthorne meant them to be) by opinions about its theme and some of its incidents which we do not share. There have been half a hundred interpretations of that book, some of which our own private experience insists are better than others. The book has become encrusted with interpretation. But it continues to exist exactly, we think, as Hawthorne wrote it, offering itself for even more intensive and comprehensive reading. No one has explained the experience of Hester Prynne better than Hawthorne did, nor anyone the experience of Captain Ahab better than Melville, nor of Isabel Archer better than Henry James. Each is there, in the book, waiting each reader's interpretation.

It may be a private interpretation, incommunicable, but satisfying. If it is, the teacher may be wise not to disturb it, as he is careful not to disturb some reactions to certain poems which are so superbly affective that there is finally nothing to say. But Hester's experience, or Captain Ahab's or Isabel's, is not likely to be the reader's experience, except as he is led out toward it by information and suggestions which the teacher must continuously seek to provide. Not only is Isabel Archer charming or lucky or unfortunate or selfish; she is greatly more – a person who lived in the late nineteenth century (what was that like?), who traveled in Europe (for what reasons, with what opportunities, against what odds?), and who married a man (who was like herself an adventurer?) who had a daughter named after an early spring flower. Where does one discover the wisdom to provide these answers? Or even to know what questions to ask?

No person, as Hemingway used to say, can really go it alone. To release literature from its single, affective effect, the feather gently stroking the reader's back, the substitute for aspirin, not really so satisfying as a walk through the woods or a quick cold shower, learning at some point must be introduced. When to introduce it, and how, and how much, and how to be sure that he himself really knows it and continues to know it in all its increasingly complex variations, is the teacher's eternal problem which only he can solve. Freud and Darwin and Marx are superimposed on Aristotle, Coleridge, and Arnold; T. S. Eliot and Jacques Maritain on St. Augustine and Calvin. David Riesman, Robert Merton, Lionel Trilling, and a host of others contribute clarity or welcome confusion. And beyond them, older than any of them in terms of world time, is the student to whom every teacher has the responsibility of preparing to move beyond what that teacher is able to teach. And beyond him, shaping him whether he knows it or not, is the literature which can lead him out, which is changeless but subject also to every change imposed upon it.

What are we saying but what we have always said – that literature because it reveals the questing spirit of man in symbols which man himself has invented is the most difficult and important of pursuits, by its definitions and requirements asking of those who would lead others toward it that they attempt the impossible? In spite of personal limitations, that is exactly what we do attempt, utilizing whatever we have of judgment and what we can discover of taste, but relying also on the contributing taste and judgment and specialized learning of other people, who are not necessarily more able than we, only differently able.

Each of us is grateful to those who have taught us methods of teaching and to those who have told us what to expect of student reactions. But we are continuingly grateful, also to those, like the contributors to this series of papers, who inform us substantively of what is said and what is known about literature and the people who make it, and who talk with us about how this knowledge can be used in the classroom. We have learned that no method, no charm, no knowledge of child or adolescent psychology, not even enthusiasm, can finally equip us adequately for the leading out which we must be prepared to do. The teacher must also know, and the teacher of literature, because his subject embraces almost all things, must know more and more about more and more.

To do this, each will rely on his shelf of necessary books. Some of the volumes on it will be read and reread because they combine wisdom with charm. Others will be read from the back forward, their indexes supplying information about where it is profitable to dip into them. On such a shelf, I should expect to find the three volumes of the *Literary History of the United States*, Robert E. Spiller's admirably indexed *The Cycle of American Literature*, and *Eight American Authors*, edited by Floyd Stovall, together with, I must hope, my *Articles on American Literature, 1900-1950* and, perhaps also, *Contemporary Literary Scholarship: A Critical Review*. For recreation and good intellectual fun, I would recommend that the inquiring teacher place beside these Richard Chase's *The Democratic Vista*, Leslie Fiedler's sparklingly puckish *Love and Death in the American Novel*, D. H. Lawrence's visceral *Studies in Classic American Literature*, and Harry Levin's jewel-studded *The Power of Blackness*.

For seminal depth, he will also have at his elbow wellworn copies of Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren's *Understanding Poetry*, René Wellek and Austin Warren's *The Theory of Literature*, and, according to my taste, though I am disappointed to discover some otherwise respectworthy friends in disagreement, R. P. Blackmur's *The Lion and the Honeycomb*. For tours across familiar territory, but with pleasant guides to conduct him, he will go often to Richard Chase's *The American Novel and Its Tradition*, Charles Feidelson's *Symbolism and American Literature*, Daniel Hoffman's *Form and Fable in American Fiction*, and R. W. B. Lewis's *The American Adam*. To know what has more recently been said, he will have purchased Wayne Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism*, and Roy Harvey Pearce's *The Continuity of American Poetry*. Because I must wish that he himself is a scholar, he will also have at hand our three most scholarly general studies: Perry Miller's *The New England Mind*, Henry A. Pochmann's *German Culture in America*, and Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land*. Nor will he dare not to have Frederick Crew's *The Pooh Perplex* close beside them.

With these twenty-six books before him, plus the information and suggestions in the papers which follow, he should be tolerably well prepared — until next year, that is, or the year after that, when he must remind his NCTE Committee on Literary Scholarship and the Teaching of English of its continuing responsibility for keeping him up to date. Scholarship may be solitary enterprise, but teaching is not, nor is the dissemination of the results of scholarship. As we continue to talk together of what we separately know, we can get on faster and more effectively in our common task, which is to teach.

More people have contributed to this collection of papers on *The Teacher and American Literature* than its table of contents is able to indicate. James R. Squire and Muriel Crosby were its parents; the committee which presided at its birth and provided early nurture included Joseph H. Friend, John C. Gerber, Theodore Hornberger, and Arlin Turner. As it grew, further help was given by Harold B. Allen, Richard Corbin, Sumner Ives, Thomas Marshall, Harold C. Martin, James E. Miller, and Autrey Nell Wiley. William Bottorf of State University College, Geneseo, read the paper on Emerson and Thoreau prepared by his colleague Walter Harding, who at the time of our meeting was talking of American literature in Japan. Jean A. Wilson of the Oakland

Public Schools, California; Rosalind Barrett of the Detroit Public Schools, Michigan; and the NCTE Committee on Publications read the entire manuscript critically. But thanks go particularly to the writers of the papers, and to Nora O'Boyle who from its beginning acted as nursemaid to the program and to me.

Columbia University Lewis Leary

I.

New Approaches to American Literature

I.

WILLARD THORP 3
Princeton University
ALFRED H. GROMMON 11
Stanford University

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The Teacher and the New Approaches to American Literature

Willard Thorp

We hear a great deal of talk these days from our colleagues in some of the other disciplines about the new this and the new that. We learn that just as certain subjects – mathematics and physics are the best examples – have experienced amazing extensions in this century, so by necessity has the teaching of these subjects undergone radical changes, all the way from the junior high school to the graduate school. If we wish to do some counter-bragging to these colleagues, we can in all honesty tell them that we also have to work to keep up to date, because the study of literature and, in consequence, the teaching of literature have undergone a similar revolution in our time.

In the 1960's teaching literature, American or any other variety, is an exciting and sometimes a bewildering occupation. Living in the midst of a revolution is not likely to afford even the noncombatants peace and security. Our sleep is disturbed by two problems. We have first to try to understand what the critics and theorists have discovered, advocated, and argued about. Then we have to sort out their new approaches to the study of literature and decide which ones will help our classes to a better understanding of the works they are studying.

Comprehension and understanding have been our aims all along, and they still are despite the revolution that has taken place. But how different the requirement of understanding looked forty years ago! We had few critical concepts and terms to work with. "Understanding" meant understanding what the words said literally. Even the most fanciful passage of poetry or prose was usually treated as if it were logical discourse from which the meaning could be extracted by skilful parsing. In teaching plays or novels we could talk about character development, treating the dramatis personae very much as if they were living people rather than fictive creations. We could graph the rising and the falling action in a Shakespearean tragedy, and we knew that embedded somewhere in the plot was a climax. I remember what trouble I had in high school with climaxes. I always guessed wrong and was marked down for being a poor guesser.

The important changes in the approach to literature, of which I shall speak in a moment, come together to form one fundamental and radical change: the study in depth of the work we have in hand. In those innocent days back there, we were content in our teaching with the surface meanings. We had little conception of how immensely rich and complex a novel may be or even a poem of little length, such as a sonnet by Shakespeare or Milton. I should point out that things were not much better in the graduate departments of English. There we talked all around a work of literature and seldom went inside it to stay for any length of time. We were preoccupied with biographical discoveries. We studied the continuity of literature, that is to say, literary history. We investigated the social context of a play or novel, approaching it rather as if it were an historical phenomenon, like a landslide election or a fall in the stock market. And of course we spent a great deal of time tracing the development of this and that genre: the rise of the novel, the decline of the long narrative poem, the vogue of the pastoral poem, the transmutations of the Gothic novel in America.

The revolution which has led to the discovery of the many fascinating things which lie below the surface in a work of literature engaged the services of the largest number of critics and theorists any age has produced. We think of the age of the

Romantic poets in England as a great age in criticism, and so it was. The Romantic poets had to explain and justify what they were doing in their verse. They and their advocates accomplished their purpose, and romantic criticism came into being. But the critics were few in number. We should have trouble trying to name more than five: Coleridge. Wordsworth, Shelley, Hazlitt, and De Quincey. The twentieth century revolution in criticism was effected by at least thirty writers who took positions and advanced ideas with which their names will continue to be associated.

The premonitory thunder of the battles to come was heard early in the century in the writing of James G. Huneker, Irving Babbitt, Paul Elmer More, Joel Elias Spingarn, T. E. Holme, and H. L. Mencken. In the long line moving down since 1920, we count among the English E. M. Forster, Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot (an English citizen after 1927), I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, Herbert Read, L. C. Knights, William Empson, V. S. Pritchett, Frank Kermode, and G. S. Fraser. We must add D. H. Lawrence to this list because of a famous little book which continues to influence critical writing about American literature, his *Studies in Classic American Literature*, first published in 1924. In the larger American group stand Lewis Mumford, Van Wyck Brooks, Kenneth Burke, Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, R. P. Blackmur, Cleanth Brooks, Robert Penn Warren, F. O. Matthiessen, Lionel Trilling, Edmund Wilson, Malcolm Cowley, Yvor Winters, Richard Chase, Francis Fergusson, Newton Arvin, Granville Hicks, Harry Levin, and Leslie Fiedler. There are also the theorists, such as Jacques Maritain, Susanne Langer, Meyer Abrams, Northrop Frye, René Wellek, and W. K. Wimsatt.

These critics and theorists produced scores of books and hundreds of articles, some of which have become classics. They constitute the revolution. No teacher of literature can ignore them if he wishes to be a true professional. To ignore them and say he does not need to pay attention to what they propose would resemble the unthinkable stand of a mathematician who might refuse to learn anything about the topology of manifolds or the theory of games.

I have listed some of the most influential of these works at the end of this essay. We ought to give such a list to all advanced students of literature. If they do not have these works at their command, they will understand very little contemporary criticism. When I say "advanced students," I do not mean only those who intend to make a career in college teaching. I mean any student who will eventually teach boys and girls who are capable of comprehending and using what the critics and theorists have taught us.

This is not to say that everything they have taught us is usable in the classroom or even in one's professional writing. There have been many false starts and absurd conclusions. Some of the theories advanced border on the ridiculous and have, fortunately, been ridiculed into silence. We are still sorting out and assessing, and this process will go on for some time. It is not our business to ask the theorists to stop theorizing. We hope they will continue to make discoveries. But it is our business to find out what we can use.

And so I come to my subject, "The Teacher and the New Approaches to American Literature." I should like to divide these approaches, rather arbitrarily, into six categories. In some instances they overlap, and there are certainly more than six new approaches. The linguistic would be a seventh, but it has only just been born. A possible eighth, the Freudian approach, has been pretty well charted by now.

1. My first "approach" is that of the "New Criticism." In the writings of some of the New Critics we find many of the other approaches in use. They may talk about symbol or myth as readily as they discuss – to mention two new critical terms – "language as gesture" or "tension in poetry." But the New Critics demanded above all

a proper respect for a work of literature. If a poem or play is worth talking about at all, it is worth talking about in depth. The critic (or teacher or student) must stay with it until he has discovered all that the author, consciously or unconsciously, put there. The New Critics are little concerned with "placing" a work in the poet's or novelist's career or in the cultural life of the time of its begetting. There is no need to go outside the work for any facts because such facts, about the author's intention, for example, may be irrelevant. One further principle of the New Criticism is difficult to make some students understand, but it is an important principle nevertheless: a work of literature is autonomous and has, so to speak, a life of its own. After the poet produces his poem, it belongs to posterity and not to him. What matters is what it means to us, though we must, of course, take account of what the author prevents us from letting it mean.

The findings of the New Critics have been of great use to us as teachers. They were in revolt against all *users* of literature – the moralists, culture historians, biographers, and sociologists of literature. Thanks to the New Critics we are now in the enviable position of the teacher of fine arts who can require a student to go on looking at a painting until he has said all he can find to say about its composition, the artist's use of line and color, and the iconographic allusions it discloses.

In their intensive study of particular literary works, the New Critics were impelled to invent many critical terms to describe the generalizations they arrived at. When William Elton compiled his "Glossary of the New Criticism" for *Poetry* magazine in 1948, he assembled 115 new critical concepts many of which are esoteric indeed, such as "tension in poetry" (Tate), the doctrine of "logical irrelevance" (Ransom), and "nonexistent symbolic value" (Winters). Here we run into trouble. How much of this elaborate and still proliferating terminology should we expect a student to know? The problem is the more complicated because some of the terms vary in meaning from critic to critic. No universal congress has been called to undertake the codification of this terminology. But the problem of what to use is now the teacher's problem – yours and mine. We have to decide. We can take what we want and leave the rest to the embattled theorists. Once you put your mind to it the problem of selection is not too difficult. For example, I. A. Richards' "stock response" is a more usable concept than his "pseudo-statement" (about which he had second thoughts) because it is more readily comprehended by students. A few experiments in class with what Richards called "practical criticism" will elicit enough stock responses from the students to make the term stick in their minds for life.

2. I am sure we have all been talking about "levels of meaning" for a long time and that our students are trained to leap from one level to another as gracefully as a horse jumps a fence. The critics and theorists were not alone responsible for the "levels of meaning" approach. The kinds of literary works we have been teaching of late had something to do with the use of this new approach. Arnold's exclusive criterion of high seriousness for poetry would not serve if we were teaching the newly fashionable metaphysical poets of the school of Donne or such neometaphysical poets of our time as Eliot and Ransom. We were forced to remember that seventeenth century theorists spent a good deal of time trying to define wit in order to explain the ambivalences of the poetry of their day. We found we could penetrate Melville's rediscovered *Moby Dick* as his contemporaries could not, because we recognized that the story moves on several levels which are intricately related: the narrative, the technological (the novel is a manual of whaling, among other things), the psychological, the symbolic, the mythic, and the metaphysical. The only danger in this approach is that we may overdo the matter and lead our students to believe that a poet or dramatist never makes a simple, direct statement or constructs a one-level plot, and that all is ambiguity, ambivalence, paradox, wit, and irony.

3. Because of the medium they work in, writers have always made use of symbols to convey meaning which might otherwise be difficult to express. Speculation about the symbolic nature of language began in the seventeenth century though by 1700 only the mathematicians were using "symbol" with its modern signification. In literature the nineteenth century symbolist poets in France forced on our attention both the technique of symbolism and the word for the technique.

It has been my experience that students sometimes resist what they call symbol-hunting. But there is usually a happy ending to this resistance. Recently a student of mine, a sophomore engineer with a genuine if dogged interest in literature, undertook to write a paper on a poem of Whitman's, the choice of the poem to be his. Fortunately he lighted on "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." He noticed that there are three objects referred to in the opening of the poem which are brought together again in its conclusion:

Lilac and star and bird twined with the
chant of my soul
There in the fragrant pines and the cedars
dark and dim.

He chased lilac in and out of dictionaries without finding much but its Latin name and the fact that it blooms in the spring. He sensed the connections between President Lincoln and the "western fallen star." The solitary thrush in the swamp baffled him though he could see that it belonged in some way with the lilac and the star. When I asked him why he did not call these three things symbols, he objected. They were better than symbols. They were something Whitman had thought of to help him write his poem. What I found out presently was that somewhere along the way a teacher of his had talked about symbols but only about fixed or conventional symbols such as the cross or the flag. What this student had discovered for himself but had no name for were three highly effective fluid or personal symbols. He seemed quite pleased with his critical discovery.

I have found, as in this instance, that the theory of symbols is not very difficult to explain and that once students understand how a poet or novelist can deepen and enrich his work by using symbols effectively this term is a welcome addition to their critical vocabulary.

How well the writers cooperate with us! Their developed symbols are usually inescapable. The first chapter of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* places in contrast two symbols: the prison from which Hester emerges (Hawthorne designates it symbolically as "the black flower of civilized society") and the rose bush beside the prison door which may have sprung up under the footsteps of the sainted Anne Hutchinson who had earlier defied the Puritan clergy and come to know well the inside of that black prison. Hawthorne pauses in his narrative to pluck a flower from the rosebush and present it to the reader. "It may serve, let us hope, to symbolize some sweet moral blossom, that may be found along the track, or relieve the darkening close of a tale of human frailty and sorrow." Hawthorne uses a phrase that gives us the clue: "to *symbolize* some sweet moral blossom." This moral blossom is Hester's endurance and triumph. From these two symbols placed at the entrance to the novel grows the total meaning of the work.

A similar symbolic passage, longer and more elaborate than these two pages of Hawthorne's, introduces us to the theme and the action of another famous American novel, Henry James's *The American.* We meet Christopher Newman here for the first time. And where do we meet him? He could not be in a symbolically more appropriate place. He is "reclining at his ease on the great circular divan which at that period occupied the center of the Salon Carré, in the Museum of the Louvre." On the walls around him are some of the greatest art treasures of Europe: Raphael's *Madonna and*

Child, with St. John; Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa;* Corregio's *Betrothal of St. Catherine of Alexandria;* and — most magnificent of all — Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana* which occupies most of the south wall. Newman, having made his pile, has gone abroad to acquire the best of everything Europe has to offer by visiting the great places and by enjoying and purchasing where he can. He also intends to have the best in a wife, and he is prepared to pay for her, too. Surrounded by the best of Europe here in the Salon Carré, Newman makes his first purchase. It is a copy of a Murillo madonna at which scheming Mlle. Noémie Nioche is daubing. Newman's European education begins at this moment. Shrewd businessman though he may be at home, he is doubly cheated. Because he is innocent and amiable, he is induced to overpay grossly for a wretched *copy* of a not very good painting. Newman will have to learn. This first chapter prefigures symbolically the rest of his European education.

4. Getting younger readers to understand some elementary facts about how symbols work in literature is comparatively easy. Talking to them about myth and literature is more hazardous. The reason is that the theorists are still debating the matter, with the result that a new concept of myth arrives in nearly every journal the postman brings. That we should, beginning about 1920, turn our attention to the literary use of myth was inevitable. Everybody else was talking about myth: the anthropologists (Fraser's *Golden Bough*); the psychologists (Freud's *Totem and Taboo* and Jung and Kerényi's *Essays on a Science of Mythology*); and the philosophers (Susanne Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key*). It was probably T. S. Eliot who first impelled literary scholars and critics to consider the ways in which modern writers make use of myth. Woven into the fabric of Eliot's *The Waste Land* are mythological allusions and correspondences which thicken the texture of the poem at many places. This mythic substratum was palpable. In 1923, a year after the appearance of *The Waste Land*, Eliot wrote a short piece on James Joyce's *Ulysses* — "Ulysses, Order and Myth" — which contains a sentence in summation that caught the eye of many critics: "Instead of narrative method, we may now use the mythical method." Since that sentence was written, we have been observing the mythical method as practiced by modern writers and older ones as well. This pursuit presents few difficulties when we are dealing with such a work as Joyce's *Ulysses*, in which the correspondences are so clear that we can discover Telemachus, Proteus, the Lotus Eaters, and the Sirens in modern dress. Or, to take another example, if someone tips us off, it is not difficult to find the Alcestis myth at work in Eliot's *The Family Reunion*.

The trouble is that the concept of myth soon got out of hand. Myth no longer meant, necessarily, an ancient fairy tale or legend which had become or was on the way to becoming religious belief. What emerged when the Pandora's box labeled "myth" was opened we can see by examining two essays in the *English Institute Essays*, 1947. In his "Myth as Literature," Richard Chase stretches the concept so far out of shape that almost any good writing can qualify as "mythic." 'Myth is magic literature, literature which achieves the wonderful, uncanny, or brilliant reality of the magical vision of things." In the second essay in the volume, "The Myth of the Modern Myth," Donald Stauffer goes off in another direction, arguing that the creation of myths in modern times is almost impossible — witness Yeats's troubled effort in *A Vision*. Stauffer questioned whether it is permissible to refer to the Hamlet myth or the Don Juan myth. Science and the knowledge of the facts of history impede the would-be maker of myths. "We believe in economics; we do not believe in miracles or symbolic parables."

I think that Stauffer went to the heart of the matter here, for we notice that discussions of modern myths, such as Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land, the American West as Symbol and Myth*, which examines the "myth of the garden" in its American avatar, are actually examinations of prevailing *attitudes* or faiths, if you will, in which there are reverberations of old myths which were once parts of a religious system.

Since this blessed word *myth* now means so many things to so many men, its usefulness in eleventh grade English classes would seem to be somewhat limited. The most the teacher can hope to do, I think, is to help students understand how a writer can give universality of meaning to his work by availing himself of mythical correspondences and overtones. Eliot shrewdly foresaw that writers would follow the lead of Joyce in using the mythical rather than the narrative method or the two together. We are obliged, therefore, to watch them doing these things, from O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* to John Updike's *The Centaur*. We cannot avoid saying something about the literary uses of myth if we teach works which make use of myths.

5. I shall say little about the archetypal approach to literary study because there are many questions still to be resolved here. The words *archetype* and *archetypal* are being tossed about among the theorists like shuttlecocks in a game of badminton. Jung originated the concept of the archetype, but as he first used it in his writings on psychology it meant the form of the individual's apprehension of experience. When he began to view the archetypes as "primordial images" which are the "psychic residue of numberless experiences of the same type," experiences which happened to our ancestors and are to be found in the collective unconscious, the way was opened for the entrance of more and more archetypes, to be discovered in mythology, religion, and art. Anyone can play at this game, now that archetype seems to mean merely the supra or quintessentially typical. We can invent a new archetype in any audience by taking a vote. Who is the NCTE archetype, the most typically typical of all NCTE members? Matters have been further complicated by Northrop Frye's interesting attempt, in *Anatomy of Criticism*, to relate certain archetypal *forms* of literature, such as comedy, romance, tragedy, and satire to the four phases of the universal myth of the solar cycle. But this important but difficult book can hardly be used as an assignment in the twelfth grade. We shall have to wait until the theorists agree on what archetypal criticism is before we can translate it to the classroom.

6. Since I have been professionally interested for many years in American Studies, I wish I could say that this approach to American literature can be handed over to the high school student. There are two reasons why it cannot be used to any great extent. In the first place to study a literary work in this manner requires that it be seen in the context of contemporaneous works of art in other media and in the context of history. Few high school students will know enough to uncover more than the most superficial comparisons and relationships. In the second place, one runs the risk, even in using the American Studies approach in higher education of subordinating literature to history and sociology, of teaching a novel or a play as a social document which is valuable only for its social significance. We all know how difficult it is to keep the student's attention focused on *literary* values. It is so much easier for them (and perhaps for us) to slide over into talk about what the work tells us about the time in which it was written.

I am not saying, of course, that we can ourselves afford to neglect such books as I have listed here in my group 6. Any teacher of American literature who passes them by will miss some of the most stimulating writing about his subject that has appeared in recent years. Possibly he should absorb the books and then teach what they reveal, but not try, in teaching, to use the method their authors used to reach their conclusions.

I come back, finally, to the argument with which I began. An extraordinary revolution in the study of literature has taken place in our time. We need to be informed about the stages of this revolution and the emancipations it brought about. To do this is to fulfill the obligation of any professional, be he doctor, lawyer, or teacher, to "keep up." We cannot evade the obligation with the kind of remark once made by Professor George McLean Harper of Princeton, the biographer of Wordsworth. He had just finished his final lecture in a course in the history of criticism. A student came up to him and said politely but with concealed indignation: "Sir, I've enjoyed your course, but I don't understand how you could lecture for a whole term on the great critics and never mention T. S. Eliot." Professor Harper was not at a loss. "Young man," he replied, "I began giving this course before Mr. Eliot had written any criticism."

We owe it to our students and our profession to keep up. Perhaps, too, we have to keep up out of self defense. If we don't keep up, our students will do it for us. Mr. Arbuthnot is moving along with assurance in an exposition of Henry James's intention in writing "The Turn of the Screw" of constructing a modern ghost story which would compel the suspension of disbelief. The bright sixteen-year-old in the second row who is always interrupting interrupts with this. "But Mr. Arbuthnot, you haven't said anything about the sexual symbols, the tower Peter Quint stands on and the lake where little Miles and Flora sail their boat. And don't you agree that the whole story is just the erotic phantasy of the repressed governess?" The class gasps or giggles or is very silent. Mr. Arbuthnot struggles to remember what Edna Kenton and Edmund Wilson and Allen Tate said about these grave matters.

Or Mr. A. may have just finished a fine session on Melville's *Billy Budd* and everyone seems to agree that Captain Vere, "Starry Vere," is an upright, just, and sensitive man to whom allegiance to the King is a higher duty than allegiance to Nature or the heart. Will all be lost if another bright cookie challenges Mr. A.'s carefully developed argument by saying: "Sir, isn't the whole story ironic? Isn't Vere the real villain and not Claggart?" I hope Mr. A. fights back with what Hayford and Sealts say in the "Perspectives for Criticism" section of their 1962 edition of *Billy Budd, Sailor.*

Or – and this is my last horrible imagining – what do the Mr. Arbuthnots say to this student who obviously does not agree with the way the discussion of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is going? He bides his time, and then puts in his demurrer. "Sir, I got hold of an essay about *Huck Finn* by a man named Fiedler. May I read what he says on page 148?" Of course he may, and this is what he reads. "Nature undefiled – this is the inevitable setting of the Sacred Marriage of males. Ishmael and Queequeg, arm in arm, about to ship out, Huck and Jim swimming beside the raft in the peaceful flux of the Mississippi – here it is the motion of water which completes the syndrome, the American dream of isolation afloat. The notion of the Negro as the unblemished bride blends with the myth of running away to sea, of running the great river down to the sea."

What do we and Mr. Arbuthnot reply? I hope the bell rings and delivers us all.

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The Curriculum and New Approaches to American Literature

Alfred H. Grommon

Santayana once said that "The great difficulty in education is to get experience from ideas."[1] Isn't this observation just the reverse of what some of us consider to be the only sequence of experiences and ideas? Don't we usually plan that our students will derive suitable ideas from a succession of experiences? How, then, do we reverse this process? How do we present ideas from which students may get experience? What ideas are appropriate for generating experiences? What experiences do we have in mind?

Whitehead discusses the kinds of ideas he considered indispensable to education. In his book, *The Aims of Education*, he writes that:

> The students are alive, and the purpose of education is to stimulate and guide their self-development. It follows from this premise, that teachers also should be alive with living thoughts. The whole book *[The Aims of Education]* is a protest against dead knowledge, that is to say, inert ideas.[2]

He later explains that inert ideas, the kind that lead to "'mental dryrot," are those that "are merely received into the mind without being utilized, or tested, or thrown into new combinations."[3]

Two assumptions provide a framework for discussing my subject: first, a fundamental purpose of education is to help students gain experience from ideas; second, to be worthwhile, these ideas must be meaningful enough to students so that they can use them, must be clearly enough formulated to be tested, and flexible enough to be considered in new ways.

A curriculum, of course, is much more than an allocation for each grade of a list of selections, pages in books on grammar and composition, and statements of departmental agreements on book reports and kinds and numbers of compositions. Unfortunately, some teachers apparently consider such compilations to be their "curriculum." Instead, a curriculum should state the rationale for and the organization of a sequence of values, ideas, experiences, and materials for educating students in a subject to help them achieve specific, somewhat measurable goals in acquiring and developing appropriate knowledge, understanding, appreciation, habits, and skills. A curriculum should be imaginatively and carefully thought out. But it must also help teachers guard against producing the stereotype or organization man. Rather, it should provide not only desirable experiences in common but also opportunities for a student's developing his individuality and creativeness.

While examining recent curricular materials, I soon became aware of the relevance of Woodring's statement in his chapter in the current yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, *Theories of Learning and Instruction*, a volume of great importance to all teachers. He says that, in reviewing, as a psychologist, recent educational reforms, he was discouraged to find that most seem prompted by public dissatisfaction with schools and their achievement with pupils and other social and political pressures but not by new developments in psychology. He found that most of these reforms do not seem to be based upon any "clearly stated psychological principles."[4]

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[1] George Santayana, *The Life of Reason* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954).

[2] Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1952), p. ix. Originally published by Macmillan Company, 1929.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

I found that such principles seem to be lacking also from many curricular materials, even recent ones. To be sure, writers of some syllabi do identify characteristics and needs of adolescents for whom the materials have been prepared and offer rationales for the recommendations made. But in general, the writers I have examined failed to identify the psychological assumptions upon which they based their selection of materials and activities, the patterns of organization offered, and recommendations for teaching and evaluating. Perhaps they are not aware of the assumptions underlying their choices.

One psychological foundation which curriculum writers should take into account is suggested by Bruner in his discussion of a theory of instruction presented in his chapter in the same yearbook mentioned above. He identifies the following features of a theory of instruction:

> 1. A theory of instruction should specify the experiences which most effectively implant in the individual a predisposition toward learning – learning in general or a particular type of learning . . . .
> 2. Second, a theory of instruction must specify the ways in which a body of knowledge should be structured so that it can be most readily grasped by the learner. Optimal structure refers to the set of propositions from which a larger body of knowledge can be generated, and it is characteristic that the formulation of such structure depends upon the state of advance in a particular field of knowledge....
> 3. Third, the theory of instruction should specify the most effective sequences in which to present materials to be learned . . . .
> 4. Finally, a theory of instruction should specify the *nature and pacing of rewards and punishments* in the process of learning and teaching. Intuitively, it seems quite clear that as learning progresses there is a point at which it is better to shift away from extrinsic rewards, such as teacher's praise, toward the intrinsic rewards inherent in solving a complex problem for one's self . . . .[5]

In his concluding paragraph, Bruner says that a "theory of instruction seeks to take account of the fact that a curriculum reflects not only the nature of knowledge itself but also the nature of the knower and the knowledge-getting process. It is the enterprise *par excellence* where the line between subject matter and method grows necessarily indistinct. . . . Knowing is a process, not a product." Teachers responsible for planning should consider using such a basis for constructing a course of study. I shall return to some of these points later in my discussion of recent developments in the teaching of American literature in high schools.

Another recommendation is an extension of the second feature of Bruner's description of a theory of instruction quoted above: the importance of the structure of a subject. I suppose that many of us may now be weary of hearing about structure. But I wonder whether the principle is not important enough for us to play the changes upon this theme at least once more, especially for those of us who teach such an amorphous subject as English. You will recall that in his conference report, *The Process of Education,*[6] Bruner argues the importance of the structure of knowledge not only as an indispensable component of the process of effective teaching and learning but also as a means of one's continuing to live with the unremitting acceleration of knowledge in many fields. In discussing the implications of this principle for curricula, he states that:

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[4] Paul Woodring, "Reform Movements from the Point of View of Psychological Theory," *Theories of Learning and Instruction* (Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, 1964), pp. 302-303.

[5] Jerome S. Bruner, "Some Theorems of Instruction Illustrated with Reference to Mathematics," *Theories of Learning and Instruction*, pp. 307-308, 334-335.

[6] Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).

> The first and most obvious problem is how to construct curricula that can be taught by ordinary teachers to ordinary students and that at the same time reflect clearly the basic or underlying principles of the various fields of inquiry. The problem is twofold: first, how to have the basic subjects rewritten and their teaching materials revamped in such a way that the pervading and powerful ideas and attitudes relating to them are given a central role; second, how to match the levels of these materials to the capacities of students of different abilities at different grades in school.[7]

The recognition of the importance of structure in learning is not new, of course, but the emphasis upon it is. Whitehead was concerned with it in his book, *Aims of Education,* published in 1929. He then urged educators to protect children from mental dryrot resulting from inert ideas by not teaching too many subjects and by teaching thoroughly those they do teach. He claimed that an unfortunate result of programs consisting of small parts of many subjects leads to "passive reception of disconnected ideas."[8] He urged instead that a few and important ideas be introduced, that the child make them his own, and that he discover that these "general ideas give an understanding of that stream of events which pours through his life. . . ."

As we all know, applying these principles to English as a school subject is complex indeed. Yet, isn't this very complexity the primary reason why we must attempt to shape our subject appropriately to emphasize important ideas, attitudes, knowledge, skills? Isn't there a direct proportion between the formlessness of a subject and the necessity for discovering or creating a form within it? Understandably, some of us teaching a subject as ill defined as English have considerable difficulty identifying and adjusting materials, organization, presentations, activities, and expectations to accommodate students representing a wide range of cultural backgrounds, purposes, abilities, and interests. Nevertheless, these complications themselves demand that we create some framework appropriate to whatever we think we are doing when we teach English to our particular sampling of students.

What, then, is a curricular context within which we can consider what seem to be treatments of American literature in secondary schools? First, the course should be based upon ideas that are worth being used by students, that can be tested, that lend themselves to new arrangements, and from which students can derive worthwhile experiences. Second, the structure and methods of teaching should be based upon a valid definition of the subject, upon an expert knowledge of it, upon a practical relationship with what precedes and follows this particular course, and upon explicit theories of learning and teaching. Third, its goals should specify what students are expected to achieve in acquiring and developing values, knowledge, understanding, appreciation, powers of critical and creative thinking, habits and skills. Finally, it should show, as Getzels points out, that teachers distinguish between the presentation of problems and students' discovery of them and encourage "inquiry, discovery, and creative thinking in the classroom."[9]

Fortunately, not all schools think that a course of study consists merely of listing titles and pages. Some guides are excellent examples of what I have just recommended. Although articles in journals suggest that materials and methods developed by some teachers are far in advance of the recommendations in many published courses of study, a number of recent guides show that some teachers who write curricula are aware of trends and reports of individual teachers' accomplishments. They have incorporated some of these ideas into organized courses and units in such a way that, as Woodring says, ordinary teachers can teach them to ordinary students.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[8] Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[9] J. W. Getzels, "Creative Thinking, Problem, and Instruction," *Theories of Learning and Instruction*, pp. 265, 266.

One obvious trend is that some schools have discontinued teaching the conventional survey of American literature that used to be standard for the eleventh grade course. Exceptions to this trend, however, may be those schools in which team teaching seems to have solidified the position of the survey. But in the past three or four years, several teachers have published their analyses of the many well-known disadvantages of the typical survey, such as the unmanageable bulk of trying to encompass in one course literature from the writings of Captain John Smith to those of Salinger, the difficulties of overcoming the remoteness of Colonial and Puritan life and literature from the contemporary world of our students, the tendency to emphasize history and lives of writers rather than literature and thus to make the course more about literature, and the tendency to treat many selections superficially. As a teacher once said, such a course is likely to begin on page one and end on June 15.

Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Jr., discusses this trend in his article, "A Surfeit of Surveys: Thoughts on Chronology and Theme in American Literature," published in the *English Journal.* He rightly says that "In a high school course, unity of ideas and critical thinking are more important than chronology," but not to the neglect of chronology. He also says that "American literature is a product (or is it a catalyst?) of the cultural forces which have shaped our nation. Some shift with times: hence the value of chronology. Others are universal and relatively constant: hence the value of theme. Scholars now tend to interpret American literature both ways: as a product of shifting forces from *without* and what may be a rather constant complex of forces from *within.*" Wertenbaker stresses the importance of our being aware of major influences from European cultures which, he says, "may best be characterized as, successively, the *puritan,* the *neo-classic,* the *romantic,* and the *realistic* philosophies of life. Each embodies a characteristic view of nature, man, and God, its own distinctive array of values." But he urges us to consider relevant aspects of American civilization as only "*one* in interpreting its literature."[10]

In an article entitled "New Patterns from Old Molds," G. Robert Carlsen and John W. Conner also recommend designing a course around a combination of basic themes in American heritage and their chronological appearance as exemplified by a few major writers.[11] They report success in using the following themes and writers:

1) Hawthorne and Puritanism – an exploration of what it is, and what its major influences have been;
2) Emerson, Thoreau, and religious optimism – the importance of this philosophical movement to the American way of life;
3) Whitman and the reverence for life – the establishment of a new concept of the dignity of man;
4) Lincoln and the complexity of personality – probing the concept of man;
5) Twain and realism – establishing a natural concept of the United States through literature;
6) Contemporary writers and modern skepticism – pessimism and social doubt in the works of such authors as Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, and Theodore Dreiser.

My third example of a design for a course is the instructional guide prepared by teachers in the Los Angeles City Schools for *B 11 English,* a course for juniors. These teachers also organized selected pieces of American literature around ideas they considered to be worthwhile and meaningful to their students. Their selections are first presented as thematic units and are then reorganized by literary types for those who prefer to teach that way. Concerning the advantages of teaching by themes, representing what Whitehead called "living thoughts," the authors state:

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[10] LII (January, 1963), 9-14.

[11] *English Journal,* LI (April, 1962), 246.

> A theme is an idea or concept ever recurring in life and literature. Justice, love, morality, attitudes of faith, courage, decision: all these are universal in a humane education. Their value is primary. Theme has the advantage of teaching students with mixed abilities to grasp the meaning of important ideas through literature.

The major themes embrace many supporting attitudes and values. For example, the major theme, "The Concept of Individual Dignity," emerges from a study of selections illustrating expressions of individuality, self-reliance, declarations of what people live for, sympathy for the unfortunate. Two other major themes are "Concern for Moral Values" and "Currents in American Philosophy." But lest teachers be tempted or inclined to treat literary selections mainly as moralistic, sociological, or political documents, the authors include in their discussion of each selection suggestions for helping students recognize also its literary features. For example, the materials on Poe's "The Masque of the Red Death" and "The Cask of Amontillado" include questions drawing students' attention to such techniques and elements of structure as Poe's method of setting the mood in each story, how he involves the reader in the plot, how the first two paragraphs of "The Masque of the Red Death" compare with one another, why he builds a sense of horror and then immediately describes the lighthearted Prospero, why he selects a particular apartment of the seven to describe last, what two forces in "The Cask of Amontillado" are essential to perfect revenge, what words and phrases he uses in describing the journey into the catacombs which particularly establish the feeling of horror, whether the ending is important, and in what spirit the last words are uttered. Thus this guide represents teachers' thinking about not only the attitudes and assumptions underlying some American literature but also the literary methods by which writers attempt to achieve their purposes.

Such eclectic courses as these should be of considerable help to teachers who wish to avoid the worst faults in courses organized strictly by chronology and to achieve what Mr. Wertenbaker calls for: emphasizing important ideas and artistic achievement in American culture and literature without failing to help students acquire a sense of historical perspective about the development of American literature and thought.

Although the trend seems to be away from surveys and toward some more viable form of organization, many teachers are searching for ways of arousing today's teenagers' interest in our early literature, particularly that of the Puritans. One of the most stimulating suggestions for achieving this noble purpose is that offered by Lois Josephs in her outstanding article with the modest title, "One Approach to the Puritans," published in the *English Journal,* March, 1961. Mrs. Josephs describes how as a high school teacher of American literature she tried to teach something about the Puritans and then their literature so as "to captivate the imagination and attention" of an eleventh grade class.

Regarding students' attitudes toward Puritans, she reasoned that eleventh graders "can only be reached by destroying the stereotypes in order to reach the underlying depth of the Puritan as a human being." Here she was doing exactly what Bruner states as the first feature of a theory of instruction mentioned earlier, namely, that we need to identify and provide experiences "which most effectively plant in the individual a predisposition toward learning . . . ." She sensibly assumed that students "will appreciate Puritans' writings only after they have become interested in the Puritans themselves."

For her major materials she used selections from Perry Miller's edition, *The American Puritan,* Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter,* and Arthur Miller's *The Crucible,* but not in that order. She began by having her students make a critical study of *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Crucible* on many levels, including the literary. She wanted them to discover beneath the surface of Hawthorne's story his "artistry in the use of nature, depth in the intensity of character study, and skill in the development of the symbol." She wanted them to discern in *The Crucible* "Proctor's revelation concerning personal integrity, Elizabeth's subtle guilt, Abigail's evil nature, mass hysteria, and the hypocrisy of man." She wanted them also to note and reflect upon the character development or disintegration of Hester, Chillingworth, and Dimmesdale, and in Miller's play the contrast between the misguided honesty of Hale and the misguided hypocrisy of Parris. They were to discuss such questions as these: "Why does Hester grow strong while Chillingworth and Dimmesdale grow weak? Why can Hale be forgiven, yet Parris be despised?"

After carefully considering problems and conflicts in these selections, Mrs. Josephs' students were then able to discuss "the Puritan man's justification for interference in the religious and personal life of his neighbor. Society has a right to religious intolerance because there is only one true religion. To ignore the man who goes in the wrong direction is to be influenced by Satan." She believes that "a close study of *The Scarlet Letter, The Crucible,* and the Puritan writers evokes cultural insight to the Puritans and literary insight into much American literature." Students can compare those earlier writers with modern authors. They can continue to explore such open-ended questions as why the Puritans who are so hated are still a force in American life and literature and how do we account for their continuing influence.

I recommend this article to high school teachers of American literature, especially those concerned about making our earlier writers meaningful to contemporary youth. They will benefit from examining not only Mrs. Josephs' imaginative rearrangement of ideas and materials but her treatment of literary qualities as well.

I mentioned Mrs. Josephs' using open-ended questions, ones that are important but do not readily lead to conveniently packaged answers. For example, she asked her students about the continuing vitality of Puritanism, despite its symbolizing for many a view of life that is uncongenial to our times. We can now point, I suppose, to the Presidential campaign of 1964 as evidence. Perhaps we should use such questions more often. Maybe we are unnecessarily compulsive in searching out *the* answer to questions about literature. We may thereby limit our consideration, particularly of provocative elements that may lead to some uncertainty. Yet we know that a certain amount of exploring of alternatives resulting from uncertainty is fundamental to some kinds of learning.

Janet M. Cotter provides us with an encouraging example of this kind of teaching in her article, "*The Old Man and the Sea:* An 'Open' Literary Experience." [12] As a part of her teaching of this novel, Mrs. Cotter draws upon Carlos Baker's comment that *The Old Man and the Sea* is an example of *open* – not closed – literature, that it is the characteristic of open literature to suggest rather than dictate. [13] She encourages her students to speculate about such open-ended questions as Santiago's wondering about his, perhaps, having gone too far out to sea and about his dreams of lions. On these matters she says:

> It is good for students to know that they, like the critics, have the right to let the book touch them as it will, to let it suggest rather than dictate its wider meanings. They will respond of their own accord to the beauty of this book, its power, its universal applications, and its memorable portrait of a humble and heroic man. It is the teacher's function to stand in the wings, allowing the book itself to occupy center stage. [14]

A final example also illustrates several of the foregoing principles of teaching and learning but is of special interest to us because it shows how a teacher can help pupils see the importance of structure, in this case as an aid to their understanding a piece of literature. In his article, "Discovering Theme and Structure in the Novel," [15] Edgar H. Schuster discusses how he taught *To Kill a Mockingbird* inductively to help his students identify several themes in the novel, to evaluate their relative importance, and to do so by testing each of them by relating it to such elements of structure as the overall plan of the book, positions given certain episodes, and the logical consistency. He believes that a careful study of these elements of the structure of a novel "will provide the most dependable key to intention and meaning."

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[12] *English Journal,* LI (October, 1962), 459-463.

[13] Carlos Baker, *Hemingway, The Writer as Artist* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956).

[14] Cotter, *op. cit.,* p. 463.

Here then are a few examples of ways by which some teachers are now helping high school students study American literature. I have not mentioned cases of teaching poetry, drama, and nonfiction, or of how teachers adjust materials and methods to accommodate students who may be incapable of engaging in these endeavors presented here. Such examples are readily available, however, in the *English Journal* and other publications. But those I have included seem to me to be based upon sound principles of teaching and learning, upon an understanding of American literature and culture, and upon an identification of elements of literature as an art form.

The examples of teaching American literature offered by Wertenbaker, Carlsen, Conner, Josephs, Cotter, Schuster, and teachers who contributed to the curriculum guides illustrate well the contrast between what could be dull routine tasks in a conventional survey course unimaginatively taught and what must be the exciting experiences posed by other arrangements. These alternative arrangements and methods exemplify also what Getzels is talking about when he distinguishes between presented problems and those discovered and when he describes certain kinds of courses that foster "inquiry, discovery, and creative thinking." And they also seem likely to be courses embodying those meaningful, living ideas Santayana thought should lead to rewarding experiences.

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[15] *English Journal*, LII (October, 1963), 506-511.

II.

Genres and Ideas in American Literature

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The Teacher and the American Novel: 1964

Edwin H. Cady

What we call "the American literature field," of which the study of our novel makes a part, has been included in the much discussed contemporary "explosion of knowledge." To illustrate, in the January, 1941, issue of *American Literature* magazine, seven books were reviewed; another nine accorded "Brief Mention"; 65 articles were listed in what is now called "Current Bibliography." The comparable figures for January, 1964, were these: books reviewed, 25; "Brief Mention," 40; "Current Bibliography," 334. The general ratio is between four and five to one. One might once have read between one issue and the next everything deemed worthy of professional attention. Now that is inconceivable. Nobody can ever catch up with the "field."

For that reason alone, no matter how hard and responsibly anyone reads, one man's opinion as to what has been going on in the study of the American novel during this past decade may be valuable to teachers. But surely certain questions concerning real intellectual issues have also been emerging in recent discussions of the American novel. They represent not just questions of that "taste" of which it is no use disputing but also fundamental assumptions which predetermine angles of literary vision and thus determine what shall be read: that is, what shall be *found* within fiction. To face these questions is to ask *how* – not *what* – we shall think and shall teach our students to think about and to experience in reading literature.

I

Before we go that far, however, it may be well to look a little into the problems of the status and function of fiction in our country. I presume that it is impossible to deny that the novel in America has suffered some sort of diminution or decline. Of late years, news about the demise of the novel has been almost as regularly featured in our middlebrow journals as seasonal pronouncements of the death of the theatre. Foolish as that may be, still it would be impossible for anyone now to adopt for himself the bold words of Frank Norris two generations ago: "Today is the day of the novel . . . and by no other vehicle is contemporaneous life as adequately expressed." Because it speaks vitally to the nation, to "the People," the American novel has become, Norris said, "the great bow of Ulysses" – "its influence . . . greater than all the pulpits, than all the newspapers between the oceans," and the responsibilities of the novelist thereby become morally ultimate.[1]

With a vastly greater potential market, even the "best-seller" new novel rarely does better now than its equivalent in Norris's time; and what contemporary novel can boast anything like the national impact of *The Jungle* or *Babbitt* or *The Grapes of Wrath?* Obviously there has been a decline which is in part a function of those "modernistic" phenomena of experimentation with forms and of convinced alienation in the artist which have led to the apparently ultimate end of the "anti-novel." Also, the diminished impact of the novel is a function of shifts, themselves partly technological, in the natures of the entertainment industry and "masscult." Television and "do it yourself" in the home and family circle, and radio in the car, with the once potent movies themselves a fast fading fourth, have largely crowded the novel out of its preeminence with those whom Norris called "the People."

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[1] Frank Norris, *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (New York, 1903), pp. 3-12.

Nevertheless, insofar as "the People" still read, and for a class of literate people far greater in absolute numbers than ever before, the novel still leads the field as it has for a century past. Its decline is relative only to masscult phenomena. Relative to other literary forms it is still the Queen. And there are a number of reasons for taking it seriously – reasons of the utmost cogency for teachers of American literature.

I think there is fairly general agreement concerning the function of the novel. If in mass terms our problem (as teachers) with it is the Frostian one of knowing what to do with a diminished thing, esthetically there is no such dilemma. The successful novel is a successful work of art. As such, it may order and intensify our innermost, most significant experience and satisfy our thirst for that irreducible event we call beauty. It can do that quite as successfully as poetry, drama, or any other esthetic mode and on the same terms. Therefore the problem of "teaching" it esthetically is the same as with other modes: we must discover and know how to employ enticements and incitements which will lead our students to experience for themselves – that is, to *read* – something of what is potentially there for them.

But there are ways in which long prose fiction is different, too. It *is* prosy and discursive. It has room for mass and breadth and lengths of time – time of many sorts within and without its webs of illusion. It can afford the luxuries of multiple points of view: the author's, narrator's, reader's, and of course those of the characters. It can look and listen closely, or at any middle distance, or in the grandest panoramas of space and history. It can stage scene, paint picture, present with utter impartiality – or summarize, foreshorten, interpret, imagize, symbolize: do anything its author's virtuosity can dream of. Seldom matching the intensity of the poem or the immediacy of the theatre, the novel has freedoms and immunities (so far as one can really differentiate the genres, of course) not granted its rivals.

II

The novel therefore is potentially supreme as a mode of social – and thus in our case of American – definition. Since that is true; and since the study of American literature has always had as one of its chief motives the derivation of main images of American definition from the possibilities suggested by literary works; and since we have been in the presence of an unprecedented "explosion of knowledge" in the "field" – no minor part of which has been devoted to the novel – then it might legitimately be expected that among recent studies there has appeared a work of literary and national definition of the most major distinction, one fit to stand beside those of Parrington, Carl Van Doren, or Matthiessen, for example, as a monument of original interpretation or synthesis. Although there have been a number of excellent and important studies of American novelists and their work during the past decade, unfortunately the greatly to be wished for masterwork has not appeared.

I should like to emphasize the fact that I don't in the least wish to seem insensitive to the great merit of the individual and special studies which have appeared in a volume and quality beyond all precedent. It is their very merit which underscores the fact of the nonappearance of the big work – for which, indeed, these may prove to be indispensable preparation.

It is simply not possible to mention all the truly excellent books on the American novel published during the past ten years. I find it difficult even to suggest any ready classification of them. Surely significant classes, however, are the volumes of new editions, the volumes of recent series of studies, and the volumes of casebooks and special essays.

By 1974, I think it may safely be predicted, one of the biggest and most significant achievements to be registered will be those of our current generation of American editing. To say nothing of enterprises not yet launched, a number of the projects now in work under the aegis of the Modern Language Association's Center for Editions of American Authors will be on our shelves by then. The Mark Twain and Melville Editions, of which the magnificent Ohio State Hawthorne Edition is a precursor, seem certain of success. When we know what the authors wrote, and when we can make clear, definitive texts available to students everywhere, it will be time for new departures in criticism and for new syntheses. The Smith and Gibson *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*[2] and the Hayford and Sealts *Billy Budd*[3] are earnests of that great day to come.

The often excellent volumes of the new series, notably the Twayne, the Minnesota, and the Barnes and Noble Series, show study of the American novel to be operating in general on the hither side of the old New Criticism. Having assimilated the doctrines and methods of that movement to strength of vision into the literature, scholars now seek for meanings beyond explication, however subtle or thorough, and turn frequently to literary biography for organizing structures. In general I find the Minnesota Series excellent to recommend to students but too brief to help me as much as the longer volumes of the other series. These latter I have found excellent reading in preparation for coming to teach an author once again. Especially good are the Twayne *Faulkner*, *Fitzgerald*, *Frederic*, *Steinbeck*, and *Wilder* among the volumes I have used, and the Barnes and Noble *Hawthorne*.

Along with the casebooks, so various, so ubiquitous, the volume of essays, written especially for the occasion like those in Charles Shapiro's edition of *Twelve Original Essays on Great American Novels*,[4] or well-selected as in Feidelson and Brodtkorb's *Interpretations of American Literature*,[5] has been a light-giving development. Beyond all such, however, has been the number of books of real stature and distinction and of a bewildering variety of themes and subjects. I can hardly do less than name a number of the best in something like rough chronological order. They are all important. You may hear of a title new to you on a subject you like to follow; but you are sure, I think, to be impressed if not dazzled by their variousness: Carter, *Howells and the Age of Realism;*[6] Rubin, *Thomas Wolfe: The Weather of His Youth;*[7] Waggoner, *Hawthorne;*[8] Turner, *George W. Cable;*[9] Levin, *The Power of Blackness;*[10] Wegelin, *The Image of Europe in Henry James;*[11] Daniel Hoffman, *Form and Fable in American Fiction;*[12] Blair, *Mark Twain and Huck Finn;*[13] Philbrick, *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction;*[14] Smith, *Mark Twain, the Development of a Writer*.[15]

Add to all these the volumes published during the period of Edel's biography of Henry James and Samuel's biography of Henry Adams and you have a body of work on the American novel not to be matched from any other decade. And yet, the "big work" is not among them. Lest this seem an idiosyncratic or merely tiresome insistence,

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[2] Henry N. Smith and William M. Gibson. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960).

[3] Harrison Hayford and Merton M. Sealts, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix P99, 1962).

[4] (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1959).

[5] Charles Feidelson, Jr., and Paul Brodtkorb (eds.). (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Books GB26, 1959).

[6] Everett Carter. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1954).

[7] Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955).

[8] Hyatt H. Waggoner. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1955).

[9] Arlin Turner. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1956).

[10] Harry Levin. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958).

[11] O. Wegelin. (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1958).

[12] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

[13] Walter Blair. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

[14] Thomas L. Philbrick. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).

[15] Henry Nash Smith. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

I suggest comparison not only with scholarly "classics" from outside the period but with certain major achievements, destined, I venture to say, to become scholarly classics, published since 1954. Is there any work of the time on the American novel comparable in force of general illumination to F. J. Hoffman's *The Twenties,*[16] Lewis's *The American Adam,*[17] Spencer's *The Quest for Nationality,*[18] or Pearce's *The Continuity of American Poetry*?[19] I think not.

III

Many of you will by this time have detected the absence from the foregoing list of two of the most ambitious general accounts of American fiction of recent years: *The American Novel and Its Tradition* by the late Richard Chase,[20] and Leslie Fiedler's *Love and Death in the American Novel.*[21] Obviously I have already committed myself to some effort to explain why I do not think either of these well-known books is sufficiently a success to be classed with the superior works I have named as standards of comparison.

I am not subject, and I doubt that many teachers are, to the superstition of *nil nisi bonum mortuis.* But, and especially in the recent absence of a potent mind, there often seems to be something less than sporting in passing judgment on the work of a scholar newly dead. He cannot defend himself. My own generation of "American literature men" – of scholarly colleagues – suffered irreparable, tragic decimation in the deaths of three men. Richard Chase, Charles Fenton, Stephen Whicher were first-class minds at the height of their powers when they died. We cannot spare any of them; but the liveliest and furthest-ranging was Chase. My excuses for criticizing his work are that he would never have wished anyone's judgment inhibited by other than intellectual considerations – and that there appears to be evidence that he himself was moving in judgment away from some of the commitments of his book and toward certain of the notions I shall urge against them.

About the sportingness of undertaking to comment on Professor Fiedler's work, however, one need feel no qualms. His ability to defend himself may be regarded as proved – to say the least. But actually I shall not have a great deal to say about his book in itself. The method fundamental to *Love and Death in the American Novel* seems to me to have been carried – deliberately and as a matter of conscious principle – so far as to make many of its literary judgments unavailable to me. By this I mean that, although the titles and the authors' names are the same, Professor Fiedler rather often gives me the impression that the books he has been reading are not the same as those I have read. I seem to understand everything he says, but I cannot locate these things in the sometimes even familiar words of the literature. This being true, I hardly know where to meet him on any literary ground common enough to permit discussion.

It is not easy to feel that one does justice to literary minds so acute, so well-stocked, so concerned, so passionate as those of Chase and Fiedler by any sort of cavil. But the word which recurs to me as I consider what I find lacking in these two books is "responsibility." Obviously one can not feel that the passionate moral, cultural, and professional concerns evident in their works suggest "irresponsibility" in any common sense of the word. How could one care more than these men? Therefore "responsibility" must have particular implications in the present context, and it is my duty to try hard to make those implications clear.

Ultimately, in other words, my motive is to persuade teachers of the American novel not to permit themselves to follow in one mode of responding – and therefore teaching their students to respond – to literature but to suggest another and better mode.

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[16] (New York: Viking Press, 1955).
[17] R. W. B. Lewis. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955; also Phoenix P38, 1959).
[18] Benjamin T. Spencer. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1957).
[19] Roy Harvey Pearce. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961).
[20] (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1957; reissued, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher).
[21] (New York: Criterion Books, 1959).

I think we should all agree concerning *The American Novel and Its Tradition* that it is in many respects a brilliant work, to which a number of subsequent books have been profoundly indebted. It might well have become that masterwork for which we look. To consider it a candidate for that distinction above other fine work of the period is in itself praise so high one need specify no further. The question at issue is what is wrong or lacking? *Why* is Chase's work not finally satisfactory? Let us begin to answer the question by recognizing that there is of course no book in which the carping mind can find no flaw – exactly as there is no construction of the human mind which can triumph over a determined scepticism. As the latter is the point of David Hume, the former is the point of the sage's exclamation: "O that mine enemy would write a book!"

Since the author is no enemy, however, one has to confess that the high virtues of his book's illuminating central thesis, its many sharp insights into terms, into the qualities of ideas as well as works of literature, far outweigh its obvious defects. Some of these are its weaknesses in structural coherence and in the regular, progressive, and cumulative development of its themes. As a book it tends to fall apart into discrete essays on authors – as though it never quite outgrew an origin in notes for a course of lectures on certain American novelists. Like many another book it promises introductorily to develop and demonstrate in its analysis of individual authors and novels claims for the validity of its thesis which are in fact not proved, or perhaps have become seriously qualified when the actual analyses appear in their places later on.

But these are normal limitations and failings of the nodding human mind, easily to be forgiven in admiration for the genuine achievements of the book. Less easy to forgive are the lapses in intellectual method – especially a tendency to free and easy word-juggling and sleight-of-hand transformations with terms like "myth," "archetype," "exorcism," "Calvinism," "real," "reality," "realism," "melodrama," even "romance" and "novel." Still less easy to accept are not so much the distortions as the gaps, the absences, the writers, books, and aspects of books which are simply not present to the total *oeuvre* of the American novel as it may be seen in Chase's volume.

It is Chase's thesis that the "best" and most characteristically American fiction is "romance" distinguished for "rapidity, irony, abstraction, profundity . . . a brilliant and original, if often unstable and fragmentary, kind of literature" (p. x), a literature of "romantic nihilism, a poetry of force and darkness" (p. xi). This is a fiction which "proceeds from an imagination that is essentially melodramatic," which "tends to carve out of experience brilliant, highly wrought fragments rather than massive unities" (pp. 4-5). That imagination, Chase reiterates, has been made profound but "narrow and Manichean" by American circumstances. It can have no vital apprehension of social reality but must be violent, radical, symbolistic, poetic, archetypal, metaphysical, alienated, terrible, and discontinuous if not chaotic.

In this list one finds virtually all of what have been the "OK words" of what is usually reverently referred to as "modern criticism." By their acute and thorough-going application, Chase is able to represent as critically respectable a considerable body of more or less "standard" American fiction. But it is revealing to notice the price exacted for his ability to do this. One is tempted to conclude that it might be better to sacrifice "modernity" and keep American literature.

To make the briefest list, Chase's account of American fiction appears to me to reveal the following deficiencies. He overemphasizes the importance and misemphasizes for tactical purposes the nature of the fiction of Charles Brockden Brown. If one were looking candidly for "archetypes" of the American novel it would be impossible, for example, to overlook Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* with its essential anticipations of Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville, Howells, James, Twain, Hemingway, Faulkner, and Bellow, to name the obvious.[22] In general one would suppose from Chase that there was no picaresque tradition in American fiction. The whole historical and therefore tragic vision of Cooper is ignored. Chase allies himself with the Jamesian heresy in denying intellectual and moral seriousness to Hawthorne; among other things this permits him to say that Hester Prynne "becomes a kind of social worker" (p. 77). Chase may be right in holding *Billy Budd* not to be a work of Christian vision. But it seems hardly adequate, because he must insist that "the imagination that created *Moby-Dick*, and other great American works from *The Scarlet Letter* to *Light in August*, is . . . . not specifically tragic and Christian, but melodramatic and Manichean," to remark hastily that *Billy Budd* is "conservative" in the mode of Edmund Burke.

The second half of Chase's book, concerned with American fiction since Melville, seems to me less satisfactory than the first half. Though it was intellectually perhaps the fatefullest half-century of our history, Chase seems to recognize no developments in American thought between, say, 1845 and 1895; and the urbanization and industrialization of our culture would appear not to have occurred. Though his long discussion of *The Portrait of a Lady* finally becomes quite sound, the chapter begins, for evident purposes of connection with the thesis, on a note of misemphasis which implies a false conclusion and from which the discussion recovers only with the greatest difficulty. Even then, though the tragic irony of what is at length admitted to be a *novel*, not a romance, becomes fully recognized, one of the most mordant effects of the work, its critical irony or "negative realism" by which the immoralities of romantic egotism, Isabel Archer's romantic egotism, are exposed and punished – all this Chase misses. Little is said of the rest of James.

One could go on with such a list; but, though I am strongly tempted to complain of the maltreatment of Howells, the misdirections of the curt section on Twain, and the disregard of Stephen Crane and Dreiser, it would avail us little. I hope my point is made.

Chase's thesis that the Americanness of our fiction consists in romance, not novel, is nevertheless argued effectively. At its best, in his hands the thesis becomes very enlightening, an excellent critical instrument – as far as it goes. Taken instrumentally, it is an original generalization of great value. Taken exclusively, however, as a unitary generalization which proposes that essential American qualities and expression are *only* romantic, it is not only disastrously limiting but, I think, demonstrably false. One good test is to see that one might write another study to show that fundamental American qualities and expression have been and are also novelistic – that is, social, rational, Apollonian, common, and realistic. That would perhaps be equally enlightening. It would also, given the recent state of critical fashion, be at least equally original.

Behind an exclusive claim for "the romance," indeed, there had to be an assumption of which the history of literary criticism ought to have made Chase wary. Because recent criticism had been lauding "romance" values and because modernist criticism had frequently succumbed to the temptation to conflate literary values with cultural and so with cultural-historical theories, Chase was led to argue that his "Manichean melodramatic" romances were the best and most characteristic features of what he rather loosely called "the American imagination." The dubiousness of some of his intellectual procedures not considered, the histories of taste and criticism should have reminded Chase that it is naive to suppose that any set of such judgments is more enduring or in itself more dependably or objectively *right* than styles in millinery. The puzzled clergyman in Robert Frost's "The Black Cottage" said, "Most of the change we think we see in life/Is due to truths being in and out of favour." It was perhaps an irritating thing to say; but he was wise.

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[22] Hugh H. Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry*, ed. Lewis Leary (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962).

Surely one would do well to suspect in the present what we have learned to look for in the past. There we have learned to seek behind the styles of mind the bases of fashion in judgment and ask in particular how viable were the unspoken, unspeakable assumptions upon which judgment was grounded. Such learning inclines one toward pluralism and the intellectual principles of uncertainty and indeterminacy. But the situation presented in Chase's book gives to wonder how quite sufficiently aware he was when he wrote the book of what his grounds were. After the book had been in print a while, I think, he underwent the normal experience of the sensitive author and began to feel suspicious of some of those grounds.

IV

In the long run the question is not merely whether by ignoring or misemphasizing things Chase did not misrepresent the American novel but whether he did not actually falsify it. I am inclined to place the blame for what I have been calling deficiencies in his work – and perhaps in that of Fiedler – upon a critical attitude I should call "apocalyptic." It is noteworthy that D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature*[23] constituted a sort of scripture for Chase as well as Fiedler. But I think their discipleship to Lawrence more symptomatic than causal. The "apocalyptic" attitude in all three men is analogous to the existential despair in philosophy or to the "crisis-theology" of our times. It is a symptom of cultural crisis.

What was for me a helpful sort of light was cast on the situation recently by Professor Armin Arnold in a study of the emergent stages in manuscript and separate publications of the essays which make up Lawrence's famous volume.[24] There were essentially three "versions" of Lawrence's text. The first two expressed his sense of the American dream. They were "written in a very moderate, explanatory tone . . . logical, intelligent, and well-observed," says Arnold, and the ideas were neatly supported by quotations. But the third, which is the version we know as the book, was "hysterical." It was written at a peak of "violent hatred," Arnold comments, with Lawrence "in a state of extreme nervous tension resulting in almost insane outbreaks against his wife, his friends, his animals, against America as a whole." This was reflected in the "exaggerated, shrieking style of the book."

It had, I think, always been clear that something hysterical, certainly nothing responsible in the ordinary meaning of the word, found expression in *Studies in Classic American Literature*. Why then take it as a form of scripture? Because, I think the answer has to be, one feels outraged – and so outrageous, as Fiedler felt in reviewing Walter Blair's *Mark Twain and Huck Finn* for the *New York Times Book Review*.[25] The review complains that Blair is "reasonable" rather than "adventurous," "outrageous," or "witty and terrible." It blames Blair for avoiding "risky speculation in favor of safe facts" and for not confronting "the deeper questions" such as the "fact" that Twain knew that his book "projected *symbolically* an order of truth unavailable to history or sociology." And it concludes:

> It is well to remember that the first "psychological critic" of Huck Finn was . . . a nineteenth century printer who, making an obscene addition to one of "Huck's" illustrations . . . commented on a weakness in its view of life that even Twain's humor and the sweet reasonableness of scholars cannot finally conceal.

Something of the same antipathy to "sweet reasonableness" appears to motivate Chase's love of the wild symbolisms of Manichean melodrama and to lead him every once in a while to leap out into an arbitrary and far-fetched bit of free association in the guise of criticism. Such is the doubly misplaced observation that, in Cooper's *The Prairie,* Natty Bumppo "sadly watches" the Bush family "with exactly the same feelings aroused in Faulkner's Ike McCaslin by people like the Snopes family" (p. 61). Or the *dictum* that *The Scarlet Letter*

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[23] (Reissued; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1953).

[24] Armin Arnold, "The Transcendental Element in American Literature: A Study of Some Unpublished D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts," *Modern Philology*, LX (August, 1960), 41-46.

[25] April 3, 1960, p. 10.

> . . . incorporates its own comic-book or folklore version. Chillingworth is the diabolical intellectual, or perhaps even the mad scientist. Dimmesdale is the shining hero or to more sophisticated minds the effete New Englander. Hester is the scarlet woman, a radical and nonconformist, partly 'Jewish' perhaps (there is at any rate an Old Testament quality about her . . . Like many other American writers, Hawthorne is not entirely above the racial folklore of the Anglo-Saxon peoples . . . as in Hawthorne's *Marble Faun,* Miriam is Jewish, in Melville's *Pierre* Isabel is French, and in *Billy Budd* Claggart is dimly Mediterranean). Pearl is sometimes reminiscent of Little Red Riding Hood or a forest sprite of some sort who talks with the animals. Later when she inherits a fortune and marries a foreign nobleman she is the archetypal American girl of the international scene, like the heroines of Howells and James (p. 79).

In short, anybody can say anything about literature. If this saying of Chase's was not merely incoherent, it was certainly not responsible to the sort of reasonableness Walter Blair and I appear to agree in thinking essential to ordinary intellectual communication. It was, in fact, not "responsible," I should urge, but merely personal and arbitrary in the way self-indulgent self-expression ordinarily is. Why, then, to ask the question another way, should a Richard Chase, clearly an expert practitioner of reasonable discourse, have chosen to throw it away?

The answer, again, would seem to be that he had been attracted to the "apocalyptic" method by a shared sense of profound cultural crisis. It may pay us to review a little of the intellectual history everybody knows. When they were not somehow merely traditionally Christian, the Old-American attitudes toward life and literature (including fiction) before, say 1870, were rationalistically and common-sensically moral, or idealistically romantic. After 1870 they tended to change toward an agnostic but still public if, as Howells put it, "unmoralized" morality. But with the growing triumph by the end of the century of an ultimately reductive or "naturalistic" sense of reality, reinforced in our century by a terrible history and by the theories of man suggested by Pavlov, Marx, and Freud, there ensued almost total revolt. It became a favorite American way to express this as a revolt against "unreality" and "the genteel tradition." Progressively this revolt did away with the "gentilities" or moralism, whether avowed or implied; then ideality of faith or concept; then personalism; and finally mere order. One way out of the personal crises which made a part of the cultural crisis thus brought about was, for those convulsed, to turn to desperate faith.

And perhaps the "crisis-faith" most readily available was faith in a naked, violent assertion of the self – whether that self could be supposed to be really warranted by "reality" or not. Hence a neo-neo-romanticism of "apocalypse" and, critically in our field, a revaluation of American fiction in apocalyptic terms. Hence the acceptability of Laurentian outrage. I suppose, in short, the ground of the attitude shared by Chase and Fiedler to be a conviction, held by many creative artists as well as critics, that our culture is dead or dying and that one's expressive duty is to register his desperate sense of the contemporary situation. Thus, we have been treated to self-assertion and self-definition dressed up (in the height of fashion) as criticism.

Whether such an analysis – or simply such a feeling – may be taken to be valid or not is finally a question of faith. It would be my faith, first, that the apocalyptic analysis is probably an overwrought reaction to what clearly are a number of cultural crises. And I believe that panic-syndromes are the wrong responses to crises. Second, however respectable desperate personalism may be as an individual, even religious thing, it is unsuited to teaching. Teaching chaos and old night I think is anti-teaching.

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Since this does all come down in the end to matters of faith, I must go on and say that I believe that a work of literature is most importantly an occasion of experience in its reader. Therefore the teaching of literature is, to repeat, the discovery of ways to make that experience, or perhaps just more of what is potentially there, available to students. For the most part, the real function of literary scholarship and criticism in America is to enhance teaching. In the context in which we have been thinking, then, the key issue becomes the question: shall the teaching of literature be regarded essentially as an *expressive* event or as a *civic* event? Ought teaching literature to be primarily the occasion for unique, personal, even Dionysian self-revelation, or ought it to be the means of an adventure in community? Should one respond "creatively" or "responsibly"? And if those polarities are not irreconcilable, to what are we ultimately to be responsible? If it be granted that a novel may indeed stimulate our imaginations to creativity, are we released thereby to become our own bad artists? Or must we work to be guided to a controlled creativity, to intenser, profounder, better shaped experiences than we could in fact create for ourselves without the novel?

Of course it is true that literature possesses a marvellous power to discover subterranean, preconscious experience and lift it up to the light of common day. But I believe that literary experience is mainly shared experience. It is experience of community — in important essentials public, civil, marketplace experience, subject to certain degrees of common investigation by objective reference to the language of the text and by reasoning together. It is a means of communion by which one may realize degrees of his oneness with other men — authors, critics, teachers, and, above all, other readers both near in time or culture and far away. It should, with whatever cautions, be studied as communication (not "Communications," by which term I still feel hopelessly referred to activities like those of the Signal Corps and A. T. and T.).

However exciting or fashionable, the exploitation of authors and their art for the display of personal sensitivities or wishful superiorities, or as a rostrum, or as a smoke screen upon which to project what are, in Norman Mailer's perfect phrase, *Advertisements for Myself*, remains exploitation. It is odious in a critic and immoral in a teacher.

What, on the other hand, are *responsible* criticism and teaching? It is, of course, hard to say in the abstract. But I can suggest here, as I have elsewhere,[26] some principles. The responsible treatment of literature is *contextual:* it begins with the language of the text and returns to illuminate that language no matter how far afield it has ranged. It is *coherent* in its explanations. It is faithful to the *complete* work, never betraying the work by false context or by taking a part for the whole. It is *comparative* — if need be to historical contexts of other writings or the relevant culture or linguistics; or to the literatures of other places, times, or tongues; or to the "great tradition" of absolute masterpieces. In all these ways it is as faithful to the possibilities of "objectivity" — or at any rate the commonalty of the intellectual marketplace — as it is possible for the fickle human mind to be.

It would certainly in conclusion be less than fair of me to fail to call to your attention Chase's review article of Fiedler's *Love and Death. . . .*[27] I should suppose Fiedler found Chase on Fiedler quite sufficiently "witty and terrible," bold, speculative, and even "outrageous" — if not a bit more than sufficiently. The article is tendentious, paradoxical, often deliberately sassy, and finally important. It reminds us again of how sore a loss we suffered in the author's death, for it shows Chase in transit from his earlier critical self toward what I choose to think would have been a still more valuable maturity. As I understand his article, Chase was there urging all of us to look beyond the now outmoded apocalyptic mood and method toward a more pluralistic, historical, realistic, and syncretistic method.[28] The whole body of work on the American novel of the past decade forms a wing of a great movement in literary study. Whether one likes the tendency or not, the Arnoldian substitution of art for religion still exerts immense force in the study of literature. This in considerable part provides the power for a massive drive towards theories of meaning and method for understanding art, its world, and their relations to culture and psychology. Apparently still far from success, that effort is the most interesting event within our professional horizon. Such are, I think, the implications of Chase's essay review.

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[26] *Stephen Crane* (New Haven: College & University Press, 1962), pp. 115-116.

[27] "Leslie Fiedler and American Culture," *Chicago Review*, XIV, 3 (1960), 8-18.

Even short of success, the interim advances in even so limited a field as that of the American novel have in the books of the past decade provided us with stimulating new materials for grasping a number of individual novels and fresh possibilities for initiating students into first the experience and then the study of linked and fateful fascinations. With these rich gifts of scholarly inquiry we must make do while we hopefully await the Big Book to come.

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[28] After the foregoing was written and sent off, I discovered through the good offices of Ronald Gottesman, the volume entitled *Reappraisals: Some Commonsense Readings in American Literature* (London, 1963) by Martin Green. Where we discuss common topics, Mr. Green, though much more urbanely, has at several points anticipated me, as I am happy to acknowledge.

The Novel: Implications for School Programs

Edward J. Gordon

Edwin Cady supplies some principles for responsible teaching: that it be contextual, related to the language of the text; that it be coherent; that it be faithful to the complete work; that it be comparative, related to the historical context of other writings. The principles demand of the teacher that the discussion be continually related to the text, that the book be discussed in entirety, and that the student read other novels, related in content and technique.

When we apply these principles to the act of teaching, I would add an important question: who is going to do the intensive work of reading the book – the class or the teacher? The answer should be both: the teacher, by questioning, by setting problems; the student, by offering his partial reading to the group solution. I have little confidence in the lecture method in which the teacher undertakes both the asking and the answering.

If the discussion is to be faithful to the language of the text, the teacher should know the text; and he should read as much criticism about the book as he can find. A high school library should include books on the techniques of teaching; it should also include the works of literary critics, at least those who have written on the books being taught in that English department. The depth of reading that a class can give a book is limited by what the teacher knows about that book. Each time he raises a question, he is asking the class to look at the book in a new way; and teachers should share their questions. At Yale, many English courses are taught in small groups of about ten to twenty boys, but one teacher is in charge of the course. One of his jobs is to arrange for the teacher's weekly or biweekly meetings on the books being taught. At the meetings the best critical works on those books are discussed, and the instructors suggest the kinds of questions that have worked best in their own past teaching. In a secondary school in which I taught, we had meetings in which each teacher took a turn in explaining how he taught a particular work, and the kinds of questions he raised with his classes. A teacher should share with other teachers his way of reading; and if he will also read our best critics, he will see the kinds of questions that our best readers are raising about our most important books.

A teacher makes a lesson plan, the questions he will ask of the students, by reading a selection over and over until he is clear on how it is put together and what it means. He then puts together mentally or on paper, an essay describing its structure and meaning. His problem then is to get across to the students those ideas which they are capable of understanding. This is best done through questions which put the focus on main points, which set a logical order for discussion, and which, when the period is over, have brought the students to understand the work. If one were to make a recording of a well-organized class, it should, to a degree, sound like a well-organized essay in which one idea leads logically to the next, and the whole adds up to some main point being taught. A good class has an organization which has already been in the teacher's mind; it does not wander through a series of unrelated comments. It should end in a firm understanding of the material, not just by the ringing of a bell.

Most important, the answer to a good question should be found in the material offered by the author, not in the vague opinions of the student about what would have happened if so-and-so had done something else or had been a different kind of person. A student should be forced to prove all of his generalities by giving evidence from the text. Good questions, then, set in a logical order, will enable a student to get, or go beyond, what the teacher sees in the piece under discussion. The latter is teaching his class to ask the right questions, those asked by good readers. The critic gets his notions about a book by asking perceptive questions; a student gets his notion about a book by being asked questions. If the student is asked good questions, he will begin to ask them himself as he turns to other novels and so will become his own critic. A novel should be taught not through lecture, but through the teacher's Socratic dialogue with the class. In this way, the student is learning, not only to read this particular book on hand, but also how to read similar books. He is, in Jerome Bruner's phrase, "learning how to learn."

The problem then becomes one of distributing the questions to the right students; the teacher must know the students, their abilities, their interests, their reading backgrounds. This means ignoring a waving hand to put the question in the right place. It means having different kinds of questions for the different levels of ability: questions of fact, drawing on memory, for the slower students and, for those who are capable of higher levels of reasoning, questions that demand making connections and general statements. And since pacing is an important matter of teaching, we cannot stay too long with one person or we may lose the class. Once the bright student supplies the generality we are after, or to put it another way, the topic sentence, we can cut him off and get the evidence from some of the slower people.

It took me some time to find out that a class never did as well when I just popped questions on them, as they did when I gave them the questions in advance. I finally got to the point where I made them outline answers before we discussed them in class, and they marked the page references that they intended to use for evidence. This process involved duplicating the questions and giving them out along with the assignment.

Five or six good questions a period can keep active discussion alive; the teacher merely holds the class to the point and presses for evidence: Where does it say that? Show me the words in the text that prove what you are saying. The unproved statement is what students succinctly refer to as bull. If we ask good questions, the students will get the habit of asking good questions of what they read. Then we can make ourselves useless, a major objective of teaching. We can just say: What is the book about? Then we will have taught people how to read literature.

What I am saying can be quickly summarized. Reading literature is asking questions. Why did the story begin at this point in time? in this particular place? with that particular remark? Why am I given this particular information at this time? Working from this principle, the New Critics evolved a way of reading that centered on one major question: How are the parts related to the whole? Edgar Allan Poe said that nothing should be in a short story that does not contribute to the total meaning. Chekhov stated that if an author pointed at the beginning of a story to a gun on the wall, he had better be sure that the gun goes off before the story ends. To an extent the message applies to the novel. So the teacher looks at every part of the story and asks: why? why? why? What does it have to do with the meaning of the story?

Notice my emphasis on *why*. Many teachers will ask: What is the setting? And the question should be asked, but should be further developed into what the setting contributes to the total meaning of the book. How does the writer's choice of words in describing the setting contribute to the mood of the story? How does he use sound, shapes, color, weather, seasons of the year? When the setting shifts, why? Is the setting a reflection of the state of mind of a character? Is it symbolic? Look at *The Great Gatsby;* the seemingly palatial, lighted mansion turns into something more shabby when we see it, later in the book, by day – as the light of truth begins to penetrate Gatsby's dream. His swimming pool, strictly a status symbol, is where we find him dead, with the floating autumn leaves.

If our questions are aimed not only at the problem of how *this* novel is put together, but also at their transfer value, then we have to think in terms of the structure of the novel, the concepts that make up what we call a novel. If this idea is acceptable, we can no longer fashion an English curriculum in terms of coverage; that is, works to be read. We need also to be concerned with the structure of the subject: here particularly with the structure of the novel.

We need to identify the concepts and bring the class, through questioning, to arrive at an understanding of the concepts that make up the structure. Jerome Bruner said that any concept can be taught to anyone if it is taught concretely enough. Take, for example, the concept of *contrast:* that characters, ideas, images, settings, scenes can be set in contrast. The eighth grader can be taught to identify a contrast so that later, in more sophisticated books, he may see that a particular kind of contrast in situations may be what we call *irony,* a structural principle in many books.

An eighth grade discussion of point of view (Who is telling the story?) can later be expanded into the separation of point of focus from the mental attitude that the teller takes toward his tale, the limitations of what the narrator knows and can not know, and whether he is giving us the truth of what he does know. This idea is discussed at some length in Caroline Gordon's *How to Read a Novel*[1] and Wayne Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction.*[2]

For a further illustration, in discussing *Ethan Frome,* one can ask: What is the setting? But the more central question of *why* this setting must not be skipped. The use of parallelism and contrast in the use of setting must be developed: the contrasting scenes of Ethan's going home to Zeena and then to Mattie, or the irony of Ethan's saying goodby to Mattie in the same place where he met her. Nor can we discuss adequately the metaphoric breaking of the pickle dish without reference to what went before and what comes later: how that scene comments on Ethan's momentary happiness.

Bruner talks about the curriculum being set up in spiral fashion so that we come back to concepts already taught, but each time we return with a more complex version of what the concept means. Another way of putting this point is to say that we have the right to simplify a concept, but that we should never falsify it.

Through all the history of criticism we have been informed at great length on what Bruner has popularized as the concepts that make up the structure. Since our concern is to teach students to read literature, we need to classify the concepts that make up literature and decide how they may best be taught at each level. If we do not teach the technical devices by which our best writers get their effects, we may get so concerned with content that we are teaching only ideas and not the novel as a form of expression.

All teachers get concerned to some degree with plot and character, but critics have pushed these concepts into areas of concreteness that make much fuller readings possible. A discussion of characterization can no longer be limited to what a person is like, but must be expanded to how the author has revealed character. How have minor characters contributed? What is the function of each? What is the purpose of each speech and action? What do we infer from each about what a person is like? Who is the leading character? How does the writer keep the focus on him? Is the character causing the action, or is the action being imposed on him? How, as I suggested earlier, is setting aiding in the characterization? Is the author commenting through inanimate objects or symbols? Does the author or the narrator speak directly or let the characterization be conveyed through speech and action? How are the character traits important in causing the climactic action in the book? What does the character learn in the course of the book? What does the reader learn? Does the main character change? What forces operate on the character to make him change? How has the author prepared us for the choice which the character makes at his moment of decision? Was the decision credibly motivated? These are the kinds of questions that define the concept of characterization and that get us into any seriously written book.

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[1] (New York: Viking Press, Compass C153, 1964).

[2] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

By emphasizing technical considerations, I am not suggesting that we stop at this point. I am saying that we need to find out what the author is saying and that is best done by finding out how he says it. We do need to ask not only how Mark Twain organizes Huck's voyage but also what Huck learns. We need to remember that English teaching is more than just raising technical questions of the type I suggest here: our essential task is to raise the questions about human behavior that have perplexed man through all of our history. Then we look for the answer that each book suggests. The student may then ask with Job why a good man suffers; with Oedipus, what are the limits of human knowledge; with Antigone, is there a higher law than that of man; with Hamlet, how does a civilized man deal with evil; and with our own Willy Loman, is man the creature of fate.

Good literature represents man in isolation, that way he lives in his most important moments. It offers ways in which man can meet those moments. And in a world in which heroes are so few, where are our students to get their concept of individual dignity — their idea of what a man can be? One of the great ideas behind Oedipus or Job is not that man finds no answer to the paradoxes of suffering, but that man can persist, that he can stand on his own two feet through such an ordeal. Books are one of the few civilizing forces left to us. The battle is between those who write to enslave men, the conditioners, the "big brothers," the image makers — and those who write to free him, the writers of the books that have persisted because they had so much to say in every generation. Our job is to keep alive the dialogue on what life is really about.

Recent Developments in the American Short Story

William Peden

Within the last twenty years – let us say since about the end of World War II – a quiet revolution has been taking place in the American short story. This essay is devoted to comments on what seem to me some of the most significant directions which this revolution has taken, directions which I hope to relate to the problems of teachers of American literature in high school and introductory college classes.

From its beginnings, the history of the short story in America has been characterized by paradox and contrast, and this paradox continues to this day. The short story, as we all know, is the only major literary form which is essentially American in origin, and the only major genre in which American writers, from the first, did not have to play second fiddle to their British and European counterparts. In spite of this, critics, literary historians, publishers, and the general reading public seldom took the short story as seriously as they did the novel – or poetry, or drama, for that matter; for the most part, the short story was considered a brash newcomer, a submarginal literary upstart, or a merchandisable byproduct of a novelist's career.

Similarly, although the nineteenth and early twentieth century short story was very popular in the magazines – indeed, the short story was the backbone of the mass circulation magazine – it was seldom successful in book form. The publication of individual volumes (i.e., works by one author as contrasted to anthologies) of short stories in hard cover has always been hazardous; such collections have always tended to be "lost" or "marginal" books (most of you will recall, I expect, that Poe's *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, 1840, was a financial failure, in spite of Poe's great popularity as a magazinist). The same thing, with few exceptions, continues to be true today, though the "taboo" no longer exists to the extent it did.

Finally, and perhaps the most curious of all these paradoxes, is the fact that in spite of the close relationship between the short story and the American magazine, probably the most significant achievements in the short story have been made since around the end of World War II, a period which has seen the continuous shrinking of the periodical market, and the expiration of such varied magazines as *Collier's*, the *Southern Review*, *Accent*, and literally scores of others. [1]

Before I discuss what can be called the remarkable renaissance of the post-World War II short story, a few comments are necessary concerning American short fiction during the twenties and thirties. Sherwood Anderson, I would like to suggest, is perhaps the most underestimated – among high school and college teachers, at any rate – of the remarkable group of short story writers who flourished between World Wars I and II, a group which includes Hemingway, Faulkner, Scott Fitzgerald, Katherine Anne Porter, Wilbur Daniel Steele, Conrad Aiken, William Carlos Williams, William March, and John Steinbeck. [2] Hemingway and Faulkner, the two greatest short story writers of the period, have during the last ten years been so thoroughly assessed, reassessed, explicated, and analyzed that few comments would be required here even if Hemingway and Faulkner were not to be the subjects of separate papers. But I cannot refrain from mentioning in passing that most of the recent Hemingway-Faulkner criticism I have read is wrong-headedly overconcerned with their novels (or their personal problems) and gives the short stories a mere lick and a promise despite the fact that both Hemingway and Faulkner seem to me better, more-likely-to-endure as short story writers than as novelists. Miss Porter and Fitzgerald, of course, have long had their devotees. Fitzgerald has been particularly fortunate in his recent biographers and editors, and selections of his stories continue to be published with considerable frequency. Steele, Aiken, Williams, March, *et al.*, deserve more recognition than they have been afforded; their contributions as significant writers of short fiction have been virtually ignored. But it is Anderson, to repeat, whom most of us teachers have failed to emphasize, despite the fact that *Winesburg, Ohio,* 1919, is unquestionably one of *the* landmarks in the history of the *new* short story.

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[1] I have commented on these paradoxes and contrasts in my *The American Short Story; Front Line in the National Defense of Literature* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), chaps. 1, 2.

[2] Austin McGiffert Wright anaylzes the short stories of Anderson, Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Faulkner, and Katherine Anne Porter in *The American Short Story in the Twenties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

Such recent critics as Irving Howe, Lionel Trilling, and Maxwell Geismar[3] have disagreed radically concerning the importance of Anderson's stories, per se, but by now it seems reasonably clear that he is one of the seminal figures of the twentieth century, one whose historical importance and influence can hardly be overemphasized. *Winesburg, Ohio,* a group of semirelated stories and narrative sketches, is one of those few books – like Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads,* or Scott's historical novels, or Joyce's *Ulysses* – which embody the spirit of an age, enlarge the boundaries and dimensions of a particular literary genre, and suggest or by example define the direction which a subsequent literary form was to take. If any one collection of stories embodies the characteristics which distinguish the "new" story of the twentieth century from the "old" – (as exemplified by O. Henry, Kipling, Maugham, de Maupassant . . . and so on, straight back through Bierce and Harte to Hawthorne, Poe, and Irving –) that book is *Winesburg.* In both subject matter and method it constitutes a declaration of literary independence. In *Winesburg* and his subsequent stories[4] Anderson rejected romantic excess, contrivance, improbability, overemphasis on mechanical plotting, sentimentality, artificiality, and the one-dimensional caricatures or cardboard cutouts – which characterize the fiction of the turn-of-the-century hacks who had reduced the short story to a mass of literary garbage far removed from reality and unconcerned with art. Anderson strove for truth as he saw it; he sought his materials – or they sought and found him – in the lives of nonexceptional people in unspectacular surroundings; he shifted his focus from the recording of external events to the analysis and depiction of what lay "beneath the surface of lives"; he strove for simplicity of form and language; he emphasized, as all great writers must, the simple, abiding truths of the human heart; and he presented his own reading of these truths with dignity, compassion, and simplicity. Teachers should try him on their students, those who haven't already done so; they may be surprised and gratified by the results.

So much for Sherwood Anderson and the antecedents of the American short story of the last fifteen or twenty years. Let's now consider the achievement in short fiction since around 1945 or 1946, beginning with some slightly controversial generalizations.

First of all, in these recent years, the American short story has come completely of age, as a literary form inferior to none, as an entertainment medium, as a vehicle for the contemplation of truth and reality.

Second, more and more talented short story writers are writing more good short stories than at any other time in our history.

Third, more and more good volumes of short stories have been published within the last fifteen or twenty years than during any comparable period in our history or, for that matter, the history of any other country.

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[3] See Maxwell Geismar, "Introduction," *Sherwood Anderson: Short Stories.* American Century Series (New York: Hill & Wang, 1962).

[4] Anderson's other collections include *The Triumph of the Egg,* 1921; *Horses and Men,* 1923; *Death in the Woods,* 1933; several others are in the posthumous *Sherwood Anderson Reader,* 1947, ed. Paul Rosenfeld.

Fourth, more and more readers are beginning to find that the superior story can be fun to read. Though the short story tends to demand rather more of the reader than does the average novel, readers are slowly becoming aware that it is likely to offer rather more in return. [5] Reader resistance or apathy toward the short story in book form is gradually diminishing; witness, for example, the enormous popularity of Salinger's stories, or the recent choice of James Gould Cozzens's short stories as a Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

Fifth, no other genre seems so inevitably *the* literary form for our particular age, just as the lyric and the drama were *the* forms which expressed the temper and spirit of the Elizabethan age, the essay of the Age of Reason, or the novel of the heyday of the Victorian era. At once the most flexible, fragmented, and varied of all current major literary types, the short story seems "a more natural form" for our writers than the novel, poetry, or drama, the genre most compatible with the restless, apprehensive, often fragmented world in which we live.

Six, future literary historians, I believe, will find the short story to be the major American literary achievement of the post-World War II years.

Whether or not teachers agree with all or any of these generalizations is not, at the moment, important. What is important is that we do not automatically reject them. What is important, I think, is that they suggest the need for some of us teachers to become familiar with the major changes that have taken place in the recent short story. We need, we teachers of American literature, to move out of the horse and buggy era. We need to bring our ideas as much up to date as possible. To attempt to "teach" the American short story in terms of Poe, Henry James, and O. Henry is like trying to teach twentieth century American history as though it had ended before World War I. [6]

Such relatively little known contemporary short story writers as Peter Taylor or Philip Roth or John Updike are likely to be more meaningful, more stimulating, more entertaining to students today than, say, Henry James or Nathaniel Hawthorne. Certainly, the enormous popularity of J. D. Salinger among high school and college students, or the relatively recent craze for John Updike among some of my own students at the University of Missouri, can be partly, perhaps primarily, explained by the very contemporaneity of the short story which I have previously mentioned. Such writers speak the language of the teenager or the young adult of the fifties and sixties in the same way that Fitzgerald and Hemingway spoke for the young adults of the twenties. The same is true of many of the authors I will refer to later, most of them not widely read, and admired, if at all, by only a small handful of writers and readers, but all of them with something significant and entertaining to say to today's students. In content, subject, theme, attitude toward life; in narrative method and idiom, these authors are so close to the pulse of our times that they are likely to ring bells and start a stir of echoes in the minds and hearts of many, many more students than may many of the "old masters."

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[5] For various reasons, almost inevitably the average collection of short stories is superior to the average novel; see Peden, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[6] Students who have been exposed only to the tightly plotted "old fashioned" short story tend to feel confused, disappointed, or cheated when they are first confronted with the understatement, paradox, ambiguity, or ellipticism of many of our recent authors. Change, variety, and flexibility have always characterized the form, but this is particularly true of the story since Sherwood Anderson's day. Over the years, "the contemporary short story in America has proved itself large enough to include the sparse simplicities of Hemingway's 'Indian Camp' and the more leisurely complexities of Katherine Anne Porter's 'Flowering Judas.' . . . It can be a fully plotted story of intense physical conflict, or a muted study in mood and atmosphere more akin to . . . poetry [or the essay] than to traditional fiction. . . . It can be a quiet character study . . . almost devoid of physical action, or it can be a 'slice of life' closer to reportage than to what has [been] called the 'comprehensive art of fiction'." (Peden, pp. 1, 6-7). Some briefing is absolutely necessary to prepare students for these changes. Even the intelligent student cannot approach *Ulysses* or *To the Lighthouse* the way he would *David Copperfield* or *The Old Man and the Sea;* the same thing is true of the short story.

I am not suggesting, of course, that we eliminate the old, the traditional, the "classic," nor am I advocating the new simply because it *is* new, or because of its timeliness. I am, however, urging teachers once more to consider the fact that the short story is a rich and varied literary form, in its own kaleidoscopic way concerned with the old verities which it reflects and expresses with remarkable skill and artistry; at the same time it is as close to our and our students' problems as tonight's Huntley-Brinkley report.

There are difficulties here for the teacher as well as for the student, even assuming that each is more than willing to accept the challenge. Until very recently the short story has tended to be the Cinderella in the family of contemporary literature, virtually ignored and sitting alone by the fire while the older sisters are upstairs getting ready for the cotillion. For even the specialist or the aficionado there are real problems in trying to keep pace with the contemporary short story. As I have already mentioned, the short story has usually been slighted in the major critical media; publishers, highly aware of buyer resistance to the short story in book form, allotted such volumes relatively small advertising appropriations; the name columnists and feature writers more often than not failed even to mention the short story in their seasonal columns on "books for one's vacation" or "pre-Christmas favorites"; recent critical, historical, or interpretive books about the short story are few and far between even during a period in which comparable studies of the novel are abundant. Let me, then, devote the rest of this paper to a brief resumé of what seem to be some of the major developments, both creative and critical, both primary and secondary, in the field of American short fiction during the last fifteen or twenty years.

Perhaps the most striking body of post-World War II short fiction is that concerned with the grotesque, the abnormal, and the bizarre – what in recent years is frequently labeled New American Gothic – and with mental or emotional illness; very often, the two streams are united. Major or notorious short story writers working within these areas include, of course, Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, Truman Capote, and J. D. Salinger; other authors who have achieved real distinction within the dark world of grotesquerie and mental illness are James Purdy, Jean Stafford, the late Flannery O'Connor, Carson McCullers, I. B. Singer, Shirley Jackson, Charles Jackson, Hortense Calisher, Howard Nemerov, Paul Bowles, Sylvia Berkman, and William Goyen.

At the other end of the spectrum are the many talented writers whose stories, like the novels of manners which provided subject and theme for generations of English fiction writers from Fanny Burney to Thackeray and Anthony Powell, are primarily concerned with the perceptive, often satiric delineation of *familiar* aspects of contemporary society. These Jane Austens of Metropolis and Suburbia concern themselves with incidents in the lives of ordinary, nonexceptional characters in familiar or unspectacular situations, and are characterized by urbanity, wit, and insight. Many of these writers have been connected with *The New Yorker* – the three Johns (O'Hara, Cheever, and Updike), Roger Angell, Robert M. Coates, Edward Newhouse, Harold Brodkey, Nancy Hale, Irwin Shaw, and J. D. Salinger; others include Peter Taylor, Elizabeth Enright, J. F. Powers, George P. Elliott, Louis Auchincloss, Ludwig Bemelmans, Kay Boyle, Evan Connell, Tillie Olsen, William Humphrey, Robert Lowry, Robie Macauley, Mary McCarthy, Frances Gray Patton, Dawn Powell, Harvey Swados, James Thurber, and Richard Yates. We could place within this comfortably loose category – although many of their stories are permeated with the bizarre, the hallucinated, and the grotesque previously mentioned – a remarkable group of recent Jewish writers, primarily concerned with depicting one or another aspect of the role of the Jew in contemporary America: Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, Delmore Schwartz, Grace Paley, Jerome Weidman, Ivan Gold, Herbert Gold, Charles Angoff, and Leo Rosten.

Most of these writers of the story of manners are essentially urban: metropolis, suburbia, and town are their domain. At the same time, however, many of our finest recent storytellers – a considerable percentage of them southern – have found in their own unsmogged regions the major source for their fiction. From the South, in addition to Faulkner, Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, Flannery O'Connor, and other writers previously mentioned, have come John Bell Clayton, Jesse Stuart, Caroline Gordon, and such talented younger writers as Reynolds Price and George Garrett. The Southwest has given us William Humphrey and William Goyen; the Middle West, Jessamyn West and Calvin Kentfield; the Rocky Mountains and West Coast, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Vardis Fisher, Virginia Sorensen, William Saroyan, H. L. Davis, and Wallace Stegner. It seems to me that such writers have made the most permanent contribution to the recent literature of short fiction: in the final analysis, they present a more varied and more realistic picture of life than do some of the big city Jeremiahs who tend to depict life as, at best, a tedious bore or, at the worst, the ultimate insult.

So much for the major directions which the recent short story has taken. What of the literature *about* the literature which can guide us as teachers through this varied and often difficult terrain? Let's begin immediately by saying that there are very few road maps. I must repeat: the short story writer has been ignored by the critics and scholars as well as by the reading and book-buying public. [7]

At the risk of sounding opportunistic or unbecomingly immodest, I must begin by saying that I know of only one book solely concerned with the recent American short story which analyzes and discusses the form with some knowledge and insight: this is my *The American Short Story,* 1964. Whatever its shortcomings, misconceptions, and prejudices, this is the only book-length study which takes the recent American short story as seriously as I think it deserves to be taken, and which grows out of more than a smattering of intimacy with the form.

Then there is Ray B. West's *The Short Story in America, 1900-1950,* a sound and informative historical survey, the last chapter of which is concerned with such recent writers as Eudora Welty, Paul Bowles, J. F. Powers, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Wallace Stegner, and Truman Capote. [8]

Two helpful general bibliographies exist: Jarvis Thurston *et al., Short Fiction Criticism,* and Warren S. Walker, *Twentieth Century Short Story Explication.* [9] An annual bibliography of current short fiction criticism is contained in a good new quarterly journal exclusively concerned with commentary, explication, and criticism of the shorter fictional forms, *Studies in Short Fiction.* [10]

In addition, there are one or two good general studies of the short story which contain valuable comments on the recent short story in America. The best of these is Frank O'Connor's *The Lonely Voice,* sprightly, perceptive, and opinionated, by one of the major living writers and critics of the form; O'Connor's few comments on the recent story in America lead us to hope that he will some time examine the field more thoroughly. [11]

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[7] See Peden, *op. cit.* pp. 3-7.

[8] Ray B. West, Jr., *The Short Story in America, 1900-1950* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952). Danforth Ross, in *The American Short Story* (University of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers, 1961) devotes four rather superficial pages to the subect.

[9] Jarvis A. Thurston, O. B. Emerson, Carl Hartman, Elizabeth V. Wright, *Short Fiction Criticism. A Checklist of Interpretation Since 1925 of Stories and Novelettes* (American, British, Continental) 1800-1958 (Denver: Alan Swallow, Publisher, 1960). Warren S. Walker, *Twentieth Century Short Fiction Explication. Interpretations, 1900-1960 Inclusive, of Short Fiction Since 1800* (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1961). A *Supplement* carries the bibliography to April 1, 1963; a second *Supplement,* April 1, 1963, through December 31, 1964, is in preparation.

[10] Published by Newberry College, Newberry, South Carolina, under the editorship of Frank L. Hoskins, Jr.; the first of these bibliographies, by Elizabeth Wright, is in I, 4 (Summer 1964), 310-343.

[11] Frank O'Connor, *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story* (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, 1963), specifically, "Introduction," pp. 39-45, and chapter 8.

Apart from these, the most valuable books for teachers are the critical anthologies exclusively or primarily concerned with the recent short story in America. Brooks and Warren's *Understanding Fiction,* originally published in 1943 and recently revised, is in many ways the ancestor of these and is still one of the best.[12] More recent anthologies include: *Fifty Modern Stories,* ed. Thomas M. H. Blair, 1960;[13] *Stories of Modern America,* ed. Herbert Gold and David L. Stevenson, 1961;[14] *Modern Short Stories,* ed. M. X. Lesser and John N. Morris, 1962;[15] *The Modern Talent,* ed. John Edward Hardy, 1964;[16] *The Worlds of Fiction,* ed. T. Y. Greet, Charles E. Edge, and John M. Munro, 1964;[17] *The Modern Short Story in the Making,* ed. Whit and Hallie Burnett, 1964.[18]

In addition, there are several good recent specialized anthologies such as Charles A. Fenton's *The Best Short Stories of World War II,* or Herbert Hill's collection of recent Negro writing, *Soon, One Morning,* or Howard U. Ribalow's *The Chosen,* which will provide the unitiated with some idea of the extreme diversity of the recent short story in America.[19]

Then there are many good recent book-length studies of recent American fiction; characteristically, in all of these the short story is invariably considered less important than the novels of the authors under discussion, and in some cases it is ignored completely. Here, in spite of this, are a few studies which I think you will find interesting, stimulating, and provocative (as with the anthologies, I am listing these chronologically):

John W. Aldridge's *After the Lost Generation,* 1951, and *In Search of Heresy,* 1956, are significant pioneering efforts to take the new fiction writers seriously.[20]

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[12] Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren (eds.), *Understanding Fiction,* 2nd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959).

[13] Thomas M. H. Blair (ed.), *Fifty Modern Stories* (Evanston, Ill.: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960). The stories are mostly American, mostly relatively recent, including some little known but good writers as Warren Beck or Samuel Yellen.

[14] Herbert Gold and David L. Stevenson (eds.), *Stories of Modern America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961). Twenty-three selections including a short novel by James Agee, all American, are grouped in such categories as "Growing Up," "Ambition," "Love"; they include the older modern masters—Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Anderson, Katherine Anne Porter—and such younger writers as Evan Connell, George P. Elliott, and Jean Stafford. This is as good as any anthology I know.

[15] M. X. Lesser and John N. Morris (eds.), *Modern Short Stories: The Fiction of Experience* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962). Thirty-two stories, including Conrad and a few Irish or English writers, but mostly relatively recent American authors such as John Cheever, Flannery O'Connor, and Philip Roth, basically reflect "the familiar circumstances and sensitive reflections of children and adolescents," along with good, unpretentious introductory notes to each story. I think this would be excellent both for high school and introductory college classes.

[16] John Edward Hardy (ed.), *The Modern Talent: An Anthology of Short Stories* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, Inc., 1964) contains thirty-two stories, mostly recent, mostly American, from Anderson and Cather to Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Faulkner to Peter Taylor, Truman Capote, and Shirley Jackson; somewhat marred by egotistical and over chatty introduction and comments.

[17] T. Y. Greet, Charles E. Edge, John M. Munro (eds.), *The Worlds of Fiction: Stories in Context* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964); twenty-one stories, mostly American, from Hawthorne and Melville to Mary McCarthy and Paul Bowles, together with the rather formidable gimmick of a garland of quotations, usually relevant, from the Bible to Freud.

[18] Whit and Hallie Burnett (eds.), *The Modern Short Story in the Making* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1964) contains twenty-two stories accompanied by comments from each author. Norman Mailer, Jesse Stuart, John Knowles, Tennessee Williams are among the authors represented.

[19] Charles A. Fenton (ed.), *The Best Short Stories of World War II: An American Anthology* (New York: Viking Press, 1957) contains nineteen stories and a novella by such writers as James Jones, Robert Lowry, Bert Stiles, John Horne Burns, Norman Mailer, and William Styron, and an excellent introductory essay and notes to the individual authors.

Herbert Hill (ed.), *Soon, One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes, 1940-1962* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). Most of the fiction section consists of excerpts from novels. The introduction is a good survey and commentary on the subject.

Harold U. Ribalow (ed.), *The Chosen* (London, New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1959) contains twenty-three stories about contemporary Jewish life in America by American-Jewish authors, along with a brief but informative introduction. Authors include Bernard Malamud, Charles Angoff, and Howard Nemerov.

[20] John W. Aldridge, *After the Lost Generation: A Critical Study of the Writers of Two Wars* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951; Noonday paperback edition, 1958); *In Search of Heresy; American Literature in an Age of Conformity* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956).

The Living Novel, 1957, edited by Granville Hicks, is a collection of ten essays by such recent authors as Herbert Gold, Saul Bellow, and Flannery O'Connor; this is a stimulating book. [21]

Edmund Fuller's *Man in Modern Fiction,* 1958, is an intelligent, good-humored, and controversial study based on an orthodox Christian concept of the human experience. [22]

Maxwell Geismar's *American Moderns,* 1958, examines American novelists from Dos Passos and Wolfe to James Jones and Saul Bellow; it contains, for example, what seems to me the best commentary on Salinger's short fiction that has been written. [23]

Ihab Hassan's *Radical Innocence,* 1961, contains interesting commentary on the short stories of such writers as Truman Capote, Carson McCullers, and John Cheever; again, however, the emphasis is on the novel. [24]

Irving Malin's *New American Gothic,* 1962, examines the fiction, short and long, of Capote, James Purdy, Flannery O'Connor, John Hawkes, Carson McCullers, and J. D. Salinger, primarily in terms of such Gothic elements as the disintegration of the individual psyche, the disorder of the buried life, and the hero as weakling in a fragmented society. [25]

Chester E. Eisinger's *Fiction of the Forties,* 1963, is a sound and interesting book; primarily concerned with the novels of the period, it also contains brief but pertinent comments on the short stories of such writers as Jean Stafford, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, and Shirley Jackson. [26]

Finally, there are several specialized studies which are valuable to the teacher rather than to the student: these range from Wolfgang Kayser's historical survey of the grotesque in art and literature to Frederick J. Hoffman's pioneering study of the literary manifestations of Freudian and post-Freudian psychology or Kingsley Amis's lively and knowledgeable discussion of recent science fiction. [27]

Such books are important adjuncts to us teachers, but they are essentially just that — adjuncts. What is important for us is the work of the new short story writers themselves. May I suggest then, that, in spite of some of the difficulties I have already commented on, teachers go to them first. If they do, they are likely to discover for themselves the following conclusions:

1) The short story has come of age. It is no longer a byproduct or a stepchild. It has become a vital literary form, perhaps the greatest and least likely to perish literary contribution of our times.

2) This recent short story is both the most varied and most strictly contemporary of all major art forms. And it is different: we can not think of it in terms of the "older" short story, and we certainly cannot introduce our students to it in those terms.

3) Therefore, while not discarding or denigrating the old, let's not ignore that which is new, fresh, different, vital, and timely. The new short story has a great deal to say to our students: let us try to introduce them to it and it to them.

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[21] Granville Hicks (ed.), *The Living Novel: A Symposium* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957).

[22] Edmund Fuller, *Man in Modern Fiction; Some Minority Opinions on Contemporary American Writing* (New York: Random House, 1958).

[23] Maxwell Geismar, *American Moderns; From Rebellion to Conformity* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1958).

[24] Ihab Hassan, *Radical Innocence: Studies in the Contemporary American Novel* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[25] Irving Malin, *New American Gothic* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962).

[26] Chester E. Eisinger, *Fiction of the Forties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

[27] Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature,* trans. Ulrich Weisstein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963); Frederick J. Hoffman, *Freudianism and the Literary Mind,* 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957); Kingsley Amis, *New Maps of Hell: A Survey of Science Fiction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960).

The Short Story: Implications for School Programs

Paul H. Krueger

A German equivalent of what we commonly call a "juvenile delinquent" addressed a poem entitled "To the Weak Ones" to the adult generation of his country. My remarks are organized around a few lines taken from his poem, lines which seem to me to have real implications for the teaching of literature.

> We are the half-strong and our souls are only half as old
> as we are; we raise hell because we don't want to cry
> about all of the things you haven't taught us;
> We can read and write and we know how to count the
> stamen of the daffodil; we know how foxes live and
> how to plant beans.
> We have also learned how to sit still and raise our hands
> to tell about foxes and daffodils.
> But in the city there are no daffodils – and no foxes,
> And you have never taught us how to face life.[1]

"And you have never taught us how to face life."

Certainly, literature can teach us how to face life, and just as certainly, this is one of the reasons for which it should be taught. No other subject in the curriculum deals as intensely and meaningfully with life. All of literature is an attempt to find meaning in life, to understand life, to contemplate, as William Peden has remarked, "truth and reality." But do we really teach it in this way? Is this power of literature evident in our teaching? If we were to draw up a list of objectives based, not on what was stated in the course of study, but rather, on the way in which literature is often taught, our objectives, I fear, might look something like this:

1) To teach students the names of great writers and to tell students all about their lives.
2) To have all students read a given body of literature which all educated people ought to have read.
3) To develop appreciation for literature by forcing students to read "good" literature, whether they like it or not.
4) To develop discipline in students by having them read things they will not enjoy reading.
5) To acquaint students with life as man found it and viewed it in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.
6) To present to students a picture of man, not as he is, but as we would like him to be.
7) To convince students that literature is to be read only in the classroom and not after they leave school.
8) To develop in students a distaste for literature and a hatred of reading.

Implicit in Mr. Peden's analysis of the short story are reasons for reading it, reasons which ought to become our objectives, not only for the teaching of the short story, but for the teaching of literature in general. "The short story," he states, "has come completely of age . . . as an entertainment medium, as a vehicle for the contemplation of truth and reality." In other words, it can offer to our students both pleasure and knowledge. But it can only do this if we teach it in the right way. To do this, these things seem important:

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[1] From Carlton E. Beck, *Guidance in a New Era* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, in press). The anonymous poem, originally in German, was translated from a German newspaper by an American student and published in the *Minnesota Daily*, the University of Minnesota newspaper.

1) *The short stories we bring into the classroom must be the means to an end, not ends in themselves.* The end we desire to achieve should be human beings who enjoy reading, who appreciate good literature and are able to read it with true understanding, who see that literature provides both enjoyment and insight into themselves, their world, and their fellow man, who recognize that literature is an account of man's unending struggle to interpret and understand that nebulous thing called life.

2) *If the short stories we bring into the classroom are to be one of the means to this end, they must have these characteristics*:

a) They must be of interest and enjoyable to students. If students do not enjoy what they read, they will never be free to see its greater values, to say nothing of the fact that they will not read.
b) They must be of suitable difficulty with regard to the level of content, style, and diction.
c) They must offer to students ideas and thoughts worth discussing.
d) They must help to broaden the experience of students.
e) They must dramatize the values and problems of our culture.

The contemporary short story has these characteristics. Because it deals with contemporary problems in contemporary America, with life as our students know it, it is of greater interest to students than literature which deals with past times. Because the modern short story is written in modern English, it is easier for students to read. Since it often concerns itself with present-day society, it deals with problems and values which are real to our students. Its subjects are of a wide range, thus helping our students to broaden their experience. The contemporary short story, in other words, has the power to speak meaningfully to our students. Whether or not it will depends a good deal on *what* stories we select and how well we help our students to read them.

"But in the city there are no daffodils – and no foxes."

The short stories which usually find their way into literary anthologies, and ultimately into English classrooms, tell students much about daffodils and foxes but all too little about life as students find it. Usually we continue to teach literature which is long out of copyright because of the universal quality of great literature, its ability to speak to all men of all times on the almost universal problems of man. For most of us, this is true. Surveying the literature of the past can give us insights into the present. But unfortunately, these insights are somewhat revealed to only the mature, the sophisticated, the intelligent and perceptive reader. Were all of our students mature readers, I would have no quarrel with restricting the study of literature to the "classics." But great numbers of our students, often labeled average and slow, are not concerned with the past, do not have the patience to struggle with literary styles and diction which are not immediately clear, and are much more interested in their own personal problems and world. Our young poet, I am sure, is among them. For these students, the classics have little meaning.

The contemporary short story is, for them, an ideal form of literature. It is often written in a language and idiom familiar to them. It is not foolishly unrealistic to them, as are some of the "classic" short stories, nor is it content to merely depict. Instead, as Mr. Peden has implied, it contemplates truth and reality, it describes the role of the individual in American society and the complexities of the twentieth century. It concerns itself with the problems of an urban life, a kind of life much more familiar to students than the rural life depicted in many of the classics. It offers discussion material which is vital, important, and stimulating. In addition, the short story is brief and can be read in a single sitting, something which the hectic pace of modern life seems to demand.

Like Mr. Peden, I do not believe that we ought to ignore the short story of the past, but I do believe we need to place far greater emphasis on contemporary writing. As a matter of interest, I noted the copyright dates of all the short stories included in one of the major anthology series. The survey was most revealing.

There are more contemporary short stories included in the seventh and eighth grade anthologies than in any other – 57 percent of the short stories were written after 1944. Lest you become too encouraged by this fact, however, I point out that only two of them were written by writers mentioned by William Peden as representative of the contemporary short story – Jesse Stuart and James Thurber.

In the ninth and tenth grade anthologies, only 27 percent of the short stories printed were written after 1944. Again, only two contemporary writers were included – and again, they were Thurber and Stuart.

In the eleventh grade anthology, devoted entirely to American literature, only five of the twenty-three short stories were written after 1944, these by Ray Bradbury, Wallace Stegner, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, William Faulkner, and Shirley Jackson. And perhaps even more disturbing, nowhere did I find stories which were truly representative of the contemporary short story as Mr. Peden has defined it. But more of this later.

If the modern short story then does not seem to exist in anthologies, how can we bring it into the classroom? Fortunately, as Mr. Peden mentioned, many good short story collections which include contemporary short stories are available. These books need not replace the anthology, but they certainly may serve as a meaningful supplement.

"We don't want to cry about all of the things you haven't taught us."

Two further implications of Mr. Peden's paper demand attention, for they deal with the things we "haven't taught" our students.

1) *We haven't taught our students how to read the modern story.* We haven't done so because, frankly, most of us don't know very much about it, or about American literature in general. Because of the hold that tradition has over college and university departments of English, most English teachers are well prepared in English literature and poorly prepared to teach American literature, this in spite of the fact that the great bulk of the literature taught in grades 7-11 is American. Is it any wonder that most teachers want to teach senior English, which deals almost exclusively with English literature? And what of those who take courses in American literature? Only recently has any real critical attention been paid to the contemporary short story and thus only recently can we expect to learn about it even in American literature courses.

And we do need to know something about the contemporary short story if we are to teach it effectively. As Mr. Peden said: "There are difficulties . . . for the teacher as well as for the student." Mr. Peden has indicated many sources which will help us to understand the modern short story. Reading and studying these sources is not something we *might* do, or *should* do, but something we *must* do. Just as we cannot teach out of empty hearts, neither can we teach out of empty heads.

The modern short story differs greatly from its earlier forerunner and thus requires, I believe, a different approach. Teachers who have been trained in terms of the older short story will encounter many difficulties. Plot, for example, in the modern short story, is more fluid and free – not all the loose ends are neatly tied up at the end of the story. Setting is often internalized in the mind of the character himself. Modern short stories are often not concerned with telling a story but rather with delving into an analysis of individuals and society. Many modern writers, like Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, and William Faulkner, make much use of myth and legend and their stories need to be interpreted in this light. The psychological short story centers its attention on the human mind; the short story of manners deals with the complexity of modern society and often portrays characters as social types, using them to comment upon the social traditions which stand behind overt behavior. And finally, symbolism seems everywhere evident in many of these modern stories.

Traditionally, we have concerned ourselves and our students with a discussion of setting, character, and plot and a consideration of *the* theme of the story. While this method may have been usable with the older short story — though even here I have reservations, it is certainly detrimental to an appreciation and understanding of the modern short story. In teaching our students to look for single answers, single interpretations, we destroy the impact of the modern short story. The richness of the contemporary short story lies in its multiplicity of meanings. In presenting the complex problems of a complex society, it offers many possible solutions, or, at times, none at all. In life, no two people interpret the same situation in exactly the same way — we tend to judge it in terms of our own, unique past, in terms of all that has caused us to be what we are. By the same token, we need not all interpret a short story in the same way. We ought to lead our students to recognize that the modern short story is rich in connotations. We need to teach them to respond emotionally as well as intellectually to what they read. Asking them to outline setting, plot, and character, or to "interpret" a story, leads only to an intellectual response. We should rather spend our time discussing the reactions of students to what they read and the implications of the selection with regard to its subject matter. Just as the modern writer makes no attempt to tie up all the loose ends, neither should we lead our students to attempt to do so.

2) *If we are to bring the contemporary short story into the English classroom, we must be willing to discuss all aspects of life.* We cannot discuss just the "safe" ones. The young poet who said "we raise hell because we don't want to cry about all of the things you haven't taught us" demands that we look at the picture of life which we present to our students in the classroom. When we do, we will find many distortions. Most of the literature we have traditionally brought to the classroom denies, by omission, that sexual desires and problems have anything to do with man's behavior. It denies, by omission, that women are anything but virtuous, that men are anything but heroic. It denies, by omission, the corruption in American government, the failures of the church, the excesses of labor unions gone mad, the evils of a world in which, in the words of my young poet, "men wring each other's necks and call it 'business'," the problems of the racial struggle, the existence of people who have no God but themselves, and a society whose Puritanical moral codes create unjustified feelings of guilt and cause individuals to do violent deeds in desperation. If teachers would deal with the contemporary short story as it really is, then they must face these things openly, frankly, and honestly. They must be willing to look at women with a pathological fear of masculinity, as in Taylor's *A Spinster's Tale;* at mental illness in a child, as presented in Aiken's *Silent Snow, Secret Snow;* at the problems of marriage and divorce, as in Steinbeck's *The White Quail* and McCarthy's *Cruel and Barbarous Treatment;* at drunken women, maladjusted children, and people for whom fantasy becomes reality, as in Salinger's *Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut;* at the church in modern society, as described by J. F. Powers in *Valiant Woman* and *The Forks;* at the pressures of the modern office in Thurber's *The Catbird Seat;* and at the problems of life in the jungle of America's cities, as in Nelson Algren's work.

We must face them because we have a responsibility to contend with all of life, not just its more pleasant aspects, not just with those things of which we and our society approve. The one-sided view of life which older literature presents does little to help our students to face the problems they are encountering. These are the things we haven't taught and the things we must begin to teach.

Our students learn about these things, whether we teach them or not. But how and where do they learn? They learn about them as their youthful ambitions are crushed, as their idealism and beliefs are destroyed by the overwhelming weight of reality. They learn about sex, for example, in alleys, on street corners, and they read about it on lavatory walls and in the trash which floods the nation's bookstores and newsstands. And what they learn is distorted. Have you read any of the trash which worships sex, that degrades and cheapens it, that paints life as one succession of sexual thrills after another, that drags all of life into the gutter? Is this the view of life which we want them to have? They will read this trash, no matter what we do. We cannot stop them. Being young, and being curious, and feeling the first stirrings of their sexual awakening, they find the things they read outside the classroom far more interesting than the namby-pamby, lily-white, unrealistic picture of life they get in the literature they read in the classroom. But, unfortunately, what they read outside the classroom is just as distorted as what they read *in* the classroom.

We need to provide our students with a point of view, a yardstick with which they can measure life, all of life, including its baser aspects. We need to bring into the classroom literature which portrays life as these young people know it to be, literature which recognizes that evil, corruption, and sex do exist, but which places them in their proper context. We need to prepare them for life as it is, not only for life as we wish it to be.

If we would use the contemporary short story as it ought to be used, we need to be unafraid of all aspects of life. Many things which are taboo in the English classroom, which cannot be discussed, are the very things which most concern our students. By acting as if these things did not exist, by refusing to discuss them, by literature which does not recognize their existence, we fail our students, and the English classroom and literature in general become far removed from reality.

I do not advocate the teaching of sex or the celebration of corruption, in the English classroom. Nor do I say that all contemporary short stories deal with these things. I maintain that some do and that we ought to bring some of these into the classroom. If literature is to serve any real purpose, it must be meaningful to our students; it must make a lasting impact. The contemporary short story can do this well. Let us prepare ourselves to teach it. Let us have the courage to bring it into the classroom. Let us use it to help our students to understand life, in all its complexity. Let us use the contemporary short story to offset the distortions of life which mark what is traditionally read in the classroom and surreptitiously read outside it. Let us use it in order that our students will not say to us:

> We have also learned how to sit still and raise our hands
>   to tell about foxes and daffodils.
> But in the city there are no daffodils — and no foxes,
>   And you have never taught us how to face life.

Recent Approaches to American Poetry

Bernard Duffey

If we are to speak of "recent approaches" to American poetry, we must look primarily at the twentieth century revolution in poetry itself to find the source, not simply of poetic renewal, but of the consequent critical and scholarly innovations which have made up such "recent approaches." We have become differently aware of poetry in our times because we have had a different poetry to become aware of. By now there are fifty or sixty years of innovation, itself made up of mixed currents. As a result, it grows almost impossible to isolate particular books which represent any kind of simon-pure method. The scholars and critics mix and meld as the literature which has formed our taste for poetry, our understanding of what it can be, claims repeated adaptions to its shifting and growing reality.

What has happened to poetry in our century is its drift away from the nineteenth century ideals of goodness and beauty and the attitude they had engendered. That which was most poetical to the nineteenth century was whatever, in numbered language, was good or beautiful. In Poe's "The Poetic Principle," for example, the question was one, supremely, of beauty:

> In the contemplation of Beauty we alone find it possible to attain that pleasurable elevation or excitement, *of the soul,* which we recognize as the Poetic Sentiment, and which is so easily distinguished from truth, which is the satisfaction of the Reason, or from passion, which is the excitement of the heart. [1]

Emerson, or Whittier, or Lowell, on the other hand, could be mined for expressions of their own feeling for an exalted goodness. But William Cullen Bryant yields a more generalized, more widely applicable definition:

> But by eloquence, I understand those appeals to our moral perceptions that produce emotion as soon as they are uttered. It is in these that the orator is himself affected with the feelings he would communicate, that his eyes glisten, and his frame seems to dilate, and his voice acquires an unwonted melody, and his sentences arrange themselves into a sort of measure and harmony, and the listener is chained in involuntary and breathless attention. This is the very enthusiasm that is the parent of poetry. [2]

These two sentiments, I suggest, come near to dividing the main stream of the American nineteenth century between them, and they share an important feature which sets their concept of poetry apart from anything we have had to deal with during the last fifty years. That is their ideality: poetry is something always beautifully clothed, whose garments if ever they touch the ground must do so only to transform it – if not into the transcendentally beautiful, at least into the picturesque, or if not the supernally good at least into the homespun of domestic virtue. There could, I think, have been very little question of "recent approaches" to any of our nineteenth century figures. They were not so much to be approached as heard and believed in. They expressed what were presumed to be the finer sentiments of a whole culture. In school, they were to be learned, not studied.

This attitude of secular veneration was nowhere more plainly embodied than in Edmund Clarence Stedman's *Poets of America*, the earliest notable effort to sum up our poetic culture in something like a history. His whole effort may be described by a characteristic phrase of his own as the search for "a sustained and wholly ideal work." No American poet quite satisfied his demand, but his study, published in 1885, surveyed with some complacence the movement of American poetry from colonial times to his own days as a developing expression of national idealism and originality which he took to be the essence both of poetry and the American spirit. It is against this background – one, I remember, still reflected in the readers and instructional emphases of my own school days – that I would set all more recent approaches to American poetry.

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[1] Edgar Allan Poe, *Selected Prose and Poetry*, rev. ed. Edited with an Introduction by W. H. Auden (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 419-420.

[2] From Lecture I of Bryant's Lectures on Poetry. Reprinted in *William Cullen Bryant; Representative Selections with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, ed. Tremaine McDowell (New York, 1935), p. 193.

For better or worse, the idealistic conception of poetry collapsed, failed after a certain point to produce power sufficient to sustain the kind of poetry which Stedman admired and which he hoped would come into its own as America's particular contribution to the art. The nineties, instead, were to generate poets like Santayana, Stickney, Moody, Crane, and Robinson who, for a variety of reasons set themselves apart from the idealistic tradition as it had been known. Whatever else may have been common to them, they could not easily be venerated. Perhaps as a result, their readers were relatively few in number, and those whom they did find often complained of darkness of mood and obscurity of meaning. The new poets criticized their culture and suggested that its conventional ideals were shibboleths. Their heroes were rebels or alienated sufferers. Their world was a clot of warped souls. Deliverance lay only at the end of some infinite distance of time which, for humanity, must be viewed as a purgatorial process. The whole vision of American poetry had undergone a basic estrangement in their imaginations, and in the process they created the need for a deliberate, questioning approach.

The generation of the nineties brought forth only a little general comment on its own work, but if we turn to Amy Lowell's *Tendencies in Modern Poetry*, published in 1917, we find that her treatment of Robinson and the other five poets she included was defined by her awareness of a poetry become problematical. Published only two years after Van Wyck Brook's *America's Coming of Age* and before the spate of expository and critical writing of the twenties, Amy Lowell's work takes on particular significance. It is the first notable effort to describe and place the new American poetry and, in pursuing its aim, to uncover something of the need for approach which the new poetry raised.

> We shall see these poets revolting against stilted phrases and sentimentality; we shall see them endeavoring to express themselves, and the new race which America is producing; we shall see them stepping boldly from realism to far flights of the imagination. We shall see them ceding more and more to the influence of other, alien people, and fusing exotic modes of thought with their Anglo-Saxon inheritance. This is indeed the melting pot, and its fumes affect the surrounding company as well as the ingredients in the crucible. [3]

Robinson himself, she said, was trapped in a situation where, "Self-analysis has sapped joy, and the impossibility of constructing an ethical system in accordance both with desire and with tradition has twisted the mental vision out of all true proportion." [4] His poetry, finally was to be grasped only as the reader could accept the paradox at its center, one not yet thought of as literary, however, but as moral. He taught the wisdom of "success through failure," the redeeming acceptance of life as a destructive force. In much the same vein, Robert Frost was characterized as a poetic realist who, in *North of Boston* particularly, wrote out of a sense of "anxiety eating away whatever satisfaction the following of desire might have brought." [5] Edgar Lee Masters was another kind of realist, "mordant and denunciatory," while Carl Sandburg was still another, one who stood outside the "Anglo-Saxon tradition," a matter of some importance to Amy Lowell, whose effort was to make his realistic vision yield something of beauty and goodness, but a beauty and goodness inherent in materialistic fact itself.

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[3] Amy Lowell, *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry* (Boston, 1917), p. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

With Robinson, Frost, Masters, and Sandburg, the new poetry had occasioned special attention by its shifting of subject and attitude away from the idealistic currents of the nineteenth century. In her two remaining poets, H. D. and John Gould Fletcher linked together as "Imagists," Amy Lowell had to make some first steps, however halting, toward a consideration of technical invention. In her own eyes, this was chiefly twofold. First was the practice of *vers libre,* what she was to call "cadenced" verse – a distribution of accents through whole strophes rather than in traditional metrical feet. Second was the abandonment of thought or sentiment for directly expressed images, largely visual but including the tactile and aural as well. In the cases of both H. D. and Fletcher, she strove to communicate a sense of the importance of this new emphasis to American poetry. She again found herself defending her poets against charges of obscurity or triviality, she besought the reader's exact and technical concern for what was going on, and, while admitting that Imagism as such had only limited possibilities, she held that its advent was the most important sign of a new poetic power in the current American scene.

It would be too much to suggest that *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry* contains, even in embryo, all the matter which might at this date be thought to make up recent approaches to American poetry. But, allowing for an inevitable lack of sophistication, one may be surprised to discover how much is there. First, the poem is seen as a problem, something not to be assimilated but to be explained. Also it is apt to be an expression of a radically personal world view and to gain in poetic stature by its very idiosyncrasy. Third, it presents subtleties of technique which must be understood by the reader as well as the poet. Fourth, it is direct, presentational, and non-explanatory when it is at its best and consequently hard to understand. Amy Lowell had learned a good deal from Ezra Pound's concern for charging language with meaning to the highest degree, and she was anxious to pass the new lore on to her readers as the central lesson they, in turn, must learn. In summary, poetry was an art which demanded approach. When faced with a new poem, one must be prepared to study it. The immediate aim would be neither edification nor pleasure, though these should come. Instead, it was an accretion of learning, of understanding.

Such matters, in 1917, lay far from scholarly interest, and Amy Lowell was perhaps not the person to interest scholars, in their professional capacity at any rate. But the greatest academic task of these years was a parallel one, that of getting the study of American poetry, indeed the study of all American literature itself, recognized as a necessary enterprise for the universities. This meant the undertaking of much historical work. By 1928 an early milestone of academic progress appeared in *The Re-Interpretation of American Literature,* composed by members of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association and edited by Norman Foerster. The next year was to see the first publication of the journal, *American Literature.* At the same time, the academy of the twenties and early thirties came to some extent under the critical influence of Paul Elmer More's and Irving Babbitt's New Humanism, an effort, among other things, to preserve some of the idealistic values represented by the older poetry and, consequently, to resist the intrusion of the newer literature into the curriculum.

Thus three, or possibly four, attitudes toward American poetry may be said to have dominated the first thirty years of the century. The possible fourth I think of would be the lingering power of the older idealistic tradition. The remaining three would be, first, the facing of questions raised by the strangeness of the new poetry. This was to remain a poetic and literary crux, little acknowledged by the academy for some time. Second was the new scholarly work – the compilation of basic bibliography, the selection and editing of texts, the writing of biographies, commentaries and history, and the channeling of all this labor into college classrooms and libraries. Third, the critical view represented by the New Humanism, touching American poetry especially, by the participation in it of scholars of American literature like Norman Foerster and Harry Hayden Clark.

During the twenties there were to be more books treating American poetry, but none of them represented any signal advance beyond the stage already reached by Amy Lowell. Norman Foerster's *Nature in American Literature*, of 1923, was a scholarly review of the nineteenth century poetic main line. It was the first of its kind from the rising academic generation, but, in addition to its history, it forecast its author's assumption of a leading role in the New Humanistic movement by its judgments favoring the "classical and Christian tradition" which naturalism, romantic or materialistic, had supplanted. Other volumes largely continued the revision inaugurated by Amy Lowell, continuing to root their conclusions in modern writing. Louis Untermeyer had followed Amy Lowell in 1919 with a series of essays on the new poets called *The New Era in American Poetry* and, in 1923, he expanded and revised this volume and republished it as *American Poetry Since 1900*. He included thirty-six poets to Amy Lowell's six, but whatever he gained in quantity he rather lost in critical focus. Like Amy Lowell, he emphasized the drastic break between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but instead of attempting to relate each of his figures to the new movement in individual terms, he was largely content to postulate the rediscovery of Whitman as the root from which all twentieth century poetry had grown, an argument which quickly got lost in the detail and variety of the figures he treated. In 1929, in *Our Singing Strength*, Alfred Kreymborg published the first attempt at an overview of all American poetry since Stedman's. His approach was impressionistic to the point of vaporousness but, significantly, over half his volume was given to a discussion of twentieth century poets, and it was by their lights that his understanding of our early poetry was largely illuminated. Other titles would include Conrad Aiken's *Scepticisms* in 1919, Mary Parson's *The New Poetry* in 1919, Bruce Weirick's *From Whitman to Sandburg in American Poetry*, of 1924, and Harriet Monroe's *Poets and Their Art*, of 1926.

The decade ended in a deadlock so far as approaches to American poetry were concerned. On the one hand, the literary commentators followed out their own commitments to twentieth century verse. On the other, the academy busied itself with the task of expanding the history of American writing. Devoted to history, and in some part to a critical view which saw little but decadence and confusion in modern writing, the academics largely shut themselves away from the modernist movement. Their work turned to the American past and, in biography as in studies of ideas, sources, and influences, brought the approaches of historical study to bear on the major figures of American poetry. The list of this publication is far too long to attempt even a selection here. Much of it is listed in the bibliography of *The Literary History of the United States*, Vol. III, edited by Robert Spiller, in the supplement to that bibliography edited by Richard M. Ludwig, and in the continuing yearly bibliographies of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*. Other scholars have brought useful and familiar academic approaches to groups or groupings of American poets, as did Leon Howard in *The Connecticut Wits*, [6] George Arms in *The Fields Were Green*, [7] Frederick W. Connor in *Cosmic Optimism*, [8] and Stanley K. Coffman in *Imagism*. [9]

By 1930, however, a book had appeared which, while it was only fitfully interested in American poetry, serves in retrospect to chart out a second movement toward a definition of new approaches. This was a collection of essays called *The Critique of Humanism*, edited by C. Hartley Grattan and containing contributions, among others, from Edmund Wilson, Malcolm Cowley, Allen Tate, Kenneth Burke, R. P. Blackmur, and Yvor Winters. The volume presented itself as an opposition voice in the critical debate over the New Humanism, but in its broader import it forecast a new intellectual vigor and strictness in the consideration and defense of modern literature which, within a few years, was to find its way into full-fledged, professional competence. A different and intellectually livelier generation had grown up to widen the space created by Amy Lowell, Louis Untermeyer, and Alfred Kreymborg, though the ground of its advance, its acceptance of modern literature as a major and therefore shaping standard, was to be the same. Unlike their predecessors, all the contributors mentioned above, most of them in their early thirties, had served thoroughgoing apprenticeships in the school of modern writing itself. All except Winters had worked at editorial jobs on magazines like *The Dial, The Hound and Horn, The New Republic, The Fugitive,* and *Vanity Fair.* All had published stories or poems of their own, though none as yet had appeared as authors of the volumes of criticism which were to be among their chief works of later decades. Burke and Cowley had published extensively as translators, and Winters had taught French, Spanish, and English at the University of Idaho and at Stanford. Their work had none of the more obvious erudition of Eliot's *The Waste Land,* a poem which was to take a central place in some of their replies to the New Humanism, but collectively they made up a seasoned, well-educated, and highly talented group of critics. If the New Humanism may be described in part as an academic critical movement denying the value of modern writing, then the critics of Humanism constituted the most articulate force yet to appear in behalf of contemporary poetry.

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[6] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

[7] (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1953).

[8] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1949).

[9] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951).

The group's theme was that Humanism denied all but its own narrowly dualistic approach to literature. Edmund Wilson argued generally for a greater breadth of literary and cultural knowledge. " . . . It is not decorous," ran his irony,

> to take a word like Humanism, which has always formerly been applied to the great scholars, philosophers, satirists and poets of the Renaissance, and to insist that it ought to be regarded as the exclusive property of a small sect of schoolmasters so fatuous that they do not hesitate to assign schoolmaster's A's, B's, and C's in Humanism to "Homer, Phidias, Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, Buddha, Jesus, Paul, Virgil, Horace, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Matthew Arnold, Emerson and Lowell." [10]

Malcolm Cowley called for a more imaginative act of critical Humanism, one which would recognize the new values informing the work of new artists, and of their power to make the world more liveably human by infusing it with myth.

> One of the real tasks for American critics today is to assess our contemporary literature on the basis of this double humanizing function. They will find that some values and myths have been created or renewed. They will find that E. E. Cummings, John Dos Passos, Hart Crane, Yvor Winters, Glenway Wescott, William Carlos Williams, Elizabeth Madox Roberts – to mention a few names at random – have each succeeded in humanizing some district, landscape, year, or city. [11]

In more involuted language, Allen Tate made something of the same point, and in doing so brought the whole metaphysical bias of the Nashville critics into action. The New Humanism, Tate thought, was "a mechanical formula for the recovery of civilization," but as Tate, Ransom, Brooks, and Warren were to preach, such recovery could not be mechanical; in poetry especially, it had to be of the utmost imaginative density and reality.

Kenneth Burke was mainly concerned with demonstrating the Humanist's affinity for the authoritarian political and religious movements in France represented by *l'Action Francaise* and the religious teachings of Massis. But even more characteristic of his own thought was the phrasing of his argument against their mode of meaning, his semanticist's analysis of the verbal traps which language sets for all men.

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[10] Edmund Wilson, in *The Critique of Humanism,* ed. C. Hartley Grattan (1930), pp. 47-48.

[11] Malcolm Cowley, in *Ibid.,* p. 84.

> I grant that there are many unsatisfactory elements in our society at the present time. I grant that many things are in a decline. Yet we are always in the decline of something, and merely because historians happen to choose certain manifestations of culture for their topics, let us not assume that there is an absolute decline when we find that only some of the manifestations are declining.[12]

Burke was later to state his own preference for a comic vision in literature and thought, a recognition of verbal involvement as the root of cultural perplexities. It is this kind of involvement, he suggested, into which the Humanists had led us.

R. P. Blackmur continued the theme by pointing out that while the Humanists preached discipline, and in its name rejected most modern literature, they themselves seemed to have no sense at all of what the discipline of literature was. His chief argument was the incomprehension represented by their dismissals.

> In Mr. [Harry Hayden] Clark's resume of American fiction I find this highly indicative hiatus. 'Let us skip the realism of the later nineteenth century, most of which is essentially arid, and approach such a figure as Floyd Dell.' Mr. Clark proposes to skip Stephen Crane, which is his own loss, although it amounts to skipping a heartbeat. Mr. Clark proposes to skip Henry James. That is, for the sake of making his Arcadian monstrosity perfect, he skips, as essentially arid, the most dignified, the most disciplined, and, I should have supposed, the most humanistic of American masters. Let us see where his skipping and hooping lead him. He is looking for a literature which, 'ministering to all the higher needs of the mind and spirit, yields the greatest delight and the greatest beauty.' The one example, presumably the best he knows, which he can bring himself to name, is Dorothy Canfield's able but vacuous novel, *The Brimming Cup*. There he finds the higher will, the will to refrain . . . , with a vengeance. . . . He does not find such matters in Hawthorne, Melville and Mark Twain; they have not an Emersonian aspiration, and hence are evidently not the right sort of writers.[13]

Finally, there is the argument of Yvor Winters, far too complex to do more than sample briefly here. In a passage which he was later to use as the opening of his volume *Primitivism and Decadence*, he amplifies Blackmur's point that the Humanists display no knowledge of how poetry works, their whole interest being dominated by historical and moral abstraction. In effect, he states, they have never learned to read well and so cannot discover where the morality they cherish is to be found in poetry.

> Before attempting to analyze a poetry so difficult and so elusive as that of the best moderns, it would appear wise to summarize as clearly as possible those qualities for which one looks in a poem. We may say that a poem in the first place should offer us new perceptions, not only of the exterior universe, but of human experience as well; it should add, in other words, to what we have already seen. The corresponding function for the poet is that the practice of his art should sharpen and train his sensibilities and render them more acute, and that the very exigencies of the medium as he employs it in the act of perception should force him to the discovery of values which he never would have found without the convening of all the conditions of that particular act.[14]

One might suggest that *The Critique of Humanism*, where it touched on literature, was in fact an advance heralding of what was to be known as the New Criticism, but this would be at best an approximate statement. If the phrase "New Criticism" is to be preserved, it ought to be restricted to those who in some part found a real use for it. They would be John Crowe Ransom and his friends, which is to say the literary circle at Vanderbilt University, represented in this symposium only by Allen Tate. But something much less like a group movement than like the consensus of a generation was suggested by Grattan's volume, and if the bits and pieces I have described be assembled and applied to our present concern, we would get something like the following as the statement of that consensus.

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[12] Kenneth Burke, in *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[13] R. P. Blackmur, in *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.
[14] Yvor Winters, in *Ibid.*, p. 301

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The approach to literature must be broadly rather than doctrinally informed (Wilson). It must be aware of poetry as a changing body of myth or story humanizing the world of raw experience and knowledge (Cowley). It must be impatient of abstract simplicities and respectful of intricate imaginative activity (Tate). It must be aware of the specific resources and traps of language (Burke). It may not deny intellectual responsibility in critical judgment (Blackmur). And it must be willing to adopt the careful, analytic activity required by the best of modern writing (Winters). We are, of course, well beyond the critical powers of an Amy Lowell or Louis Untermeyer. But the approach to literature here, including that to American poetry, rests upon the same basic ground, acceptance of the modern as the norm. In turn, it divides into semantic, critical, analytic, moral, and widely humanistic interests. These were all to receive considerable elaboration during the thirties and later decades, but the turning point had been reached as early as 1930 itself with a full acceptance of the demands of modernist poetry and a recognition of the various modes of thought and understanding which in fact it required.

By 1930, then, the shift of the critical center to the practices of modern literature itself had largely been accomplished and, in *The Critique of Humanism,* significant tokens of the way in which this ground was to be cultivated were conveniently shown forth. Most of this process had gone on outside the academy. By 1935, however, F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard was to publish perhaps the first study of a contemporary poet taking a bold stance on the ground of contemporary interest and operating from it with a careful sense of academic responsibility for cogent thought and reliable information. The significance of his work, especially when it is coupled with *The American Renaissance* of 1941, is hard to overestimate. In both, to put the matter briefly, the academy looked out to learn from Parnassus without abandoning its own conscience. Whether writing on Eliot or on the great figures of the nineteenth century, Matthiessen was shifting the academic from a kind of antiquarianism methodized to a critical interest, which is to say a contemporizing of any literature, past or present, very much in keeping with T. S. Eliot's notion of the simultaneity of literary tradition. In effect, the plea he was to make for the figures of the American renaissance was that they need not be embalmed in time past, that they were problematical and complex even to modern readers and in that sense contemporary with them. Matthiessen was a careful worker in literary history, but, like Vernon Parrington, who unfortunately had little time for poetry in his great history of American ideas, he sought for the unresolved, the interactive life of the past that its living possibilities might be better dramatized and more vividly appreciated in the present.

In and out of the academy, the 1930's saw a continuation of the switch to modernism which was to continue steadily through the next two decades. There are too many titles to attempt even a list here. Studies by T. S. Eliot, Edmund Wilson, R. P. Blackmur, Yvor Winters, Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, Joseph Warren Beach, and Malcolm Cowley continued to develop the centrality of the present in literary study of all kinds, and some sort of historical moment was reached in 1938 when Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren's *Understanding Poetry* was offered as a textbook. It reflected most immediately the analytical concern of the Nashville group to which both men had belonged, but around and behind it lay the whole developing interest in poetry dictated by modernist taste. Like many a later text or anthology, it too embraced Eliot's dictum of the contemporaneity of tradition as that which could be felt to be imaginatively alive in the present. But the way one detected imaginative life, it seemed, was by the susceptibility of poetry to close analysis, which thus itself emerged not only as an approach to poetry but as a central test of what good poetry should be.

The theory encompassing all this activity was complex and immense; indeed it has developed almost into a study of its own. Though we must look ultimately to it if we are to get a full sense of what intricacies recent approaches to poetry fully depend on, it far exceeds my ability to compress it into the confines of this paper. Some of it, at any rate, has been suggested by the summaries I have already included here, and this inadequate part will have to stand muster for the whole.

I would like to conclude, still necessarily by means of selection and sampling, with three more recent books on American poetry, viewing them as embodying in somewhat different ways the fruit of all we have seen growing from 1917 and the publication of Amy Lowell's *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry.* They are, first, a book by a distinguished poet, Randall Jarrell's *Poetry and the Age* of 1953; [15] next, the third in our sparsely filled series of efforts at an overall history of American poetry, Roy Harvey Pearce's *The Continuity of American Poetry* of 1961; [16] and finally, another exercise in history, though one more wholly committed to critical underpinnings than Pearce's study, Glauco Cambon's *The Inclusive Flame* of 1963. [17]

Mr. Jarrell's approach is the most disarming. His book itself is a somewhat helter-skelter collection of essays and reviews which treats a large number of contemporary poets, some in longer essays and some in briefer comments taken from his magazine notices of new books. He is a comforting critic for our times, relaxed, witty, easily understood, highly suspicious of critical abstraction or pretentiousness. Moreover, he champions some poets whose work had been neglected, a little to its damage, by the fondness for explication fostered by the forties and fifties. Frost, Ransom, Whitman, Marianne Moore, and the early Wallace Stevens are among his special likes. But, through his ease of manner, it is important to see that Mr. Jarrell is the inheritor of a good deal of the development we have been speaking of. The poets he likes are most alive where they are seemingly hardest to explain, where they reward only the kind of highly literate reading which our age has fostered. Or, what he objects to, like the abstracting tendencies of Wallace Stevens' later poetry, is grounded in a taste shaped by modernist canons:

> Metastasio began as an improviser and ended as a poet; as one reads the average poem in *Auroras of Autumn* one feels that the opposite has been happening to Stevens. A poem begins, revealingly:
>
> > An exercise in viewing the world.
> > On the motive! But one looks at the sea
> > As one improvises, on the piano.
>
> And not the sea only. One reads a book like this with oddly mixed pleasure, not as if one were reading poems but as if one were reading some *Travel-Diary of an Aesthetician,* who works more for pleasure than for truth, puts in entries regularly, and gives one continual pleasure in incidentals, in good phrases, interesting ideas, delicate perceptions, but who hardly tries to subordinate his method to the requirements of any particular situation or material . . . Steven's passagework, often, is so usual that we can't believe past the form to the matter: what truth could survive these pastry-cook's spun-sugar, parallel qualifications?
>
> > It was like sudden time in a world without time,
> > This world, this place, the street in which I was,
> > Without time: as that which is not has time,
> > Is not, or is of what there was, is full . . .
>
> It is G. E. Moore at the spinet. [18]

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[15] Randall Jarrell, *Poetry and the Age* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1953).

[16] Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Continuity of American Poetry* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[17] Glauco Cambon, *The Inclusive Flame* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963).

[18] Randall Jarrell, *Poetry and the Age*, pp. 130-131.

I do not wish to make too much of this single passage, but it points to a larger significance in Jarrell's book. That is the critic's assumption, possible now by 1953, of a functioning literary community squarely set upon the foundations which we have seen a-building. Much has been said about America's coming-of-age since Van Wyck Brooks first used the phrase, nearly fifty years ago. The point of a volume like Randall Jarrell's is its testifying to that condition of maturity by its ability to assume contemporary knowledge and taste rather than argue for them. Agree with him or not on Stevens, one knows what he is talking about and without any special pleading. There are questions embedded in other recent approaches to American poetry which do not interest Mr. Jarrell at all, but the one matter of taste is most fully responded to. And the response of taste, of judgment informed by intuition, thought, feeling, and the common sense of poetry, is perhaps the highest achievement possible to any literary culture in its own right.

But such evidences as those of Mr. Jarrell's volume are still not very common. On the whole, the wheels continue busily to turn, and it is their turning which continues most obviously to engage the interests of the contemporary generation. Both Mr. Cambon and Mr. Pearce, however, like Mr. Jarrell, are academic by profession, and the work of all three may be taken as tokens of the profound coloring of the old academy by a more liberal and more engaged poetic and intellectual interest.

Mr. Pearce's volume emerges out of his long interest in literary methodology, and represents the approach he has called "historicism." The fact that he feels the need for this word-coinage is interesting because it reflects an effort to combine the academic discipline of history with a highly schematic critical interpretation of the development of American poetry. In one sense his book is history; in another, however, it is a philosophic view – history as a raw material to be arranged and patterned by the historian. I do not mean to suggest that Mr. Pearce is interested merely in academic exercise. To the contrary, his account of American poetry is almost overfreighted with a feeling for poetry's importance to American life. His poetic history is pattern, but it is dynamic pattern, one which matters supremely in the whole enterprise of American nationality. In this sense he is the reverse of Randall Jarrell who with humane gusto can relish poetry as the fruit of its own culture. In Pearce there is the almost desperate sense of poetry as a necessary means to culture, or rather to replace a culture which itself is in precarious condition and which grows steadily less and less humane. He is explicit on the point:

> I suggest that our poets have perforce sacrificed men for the sake of man; further, that they have done so because they could do nothing else; that the task our culture in its history has thus far set for them is precisely this – to defend man. In the long run, the grounds for the defense – radically humanistic as in the Adamic tradition, ultimately Christian as in the mythic tradition – really do not matter. For, defending man, they have defended the idea of man as maker – this against all the forces of modern rationalized, technologized, bureaucratized society which would have man made (or processed), not making. [19]

There is really a triple approach in such a line of argument. Mr. Pearce's study leaves no doubt of his own immersion in the poetic development of our century or his desire to use that development as the vantage point from which to illuminate American poetry. In that sense he is modernist in his approach to poetry in the full meaning of the movement of modernism from Amy Lowell to the present. At the same time he is haunted by a moral imagination. Poetry is the interpretation of life, it is a defense of culture against the philistine anarchy of the times, it must save us from mere machinery – an Arnoldian argument akin to that of the academic humanists against whom the modernists had been opposed during the twenties and thirties. Finally, and to cap all, he would be historical. He speaks of history, in the passage quoted above and elsewhere, with the vivid conspiratorial sense of a pessimistic Hegelian looking upon the secret striving of spirit against time. There is even a Hegelian triad in his opposition of "the mythic" to "the Adamic," and their sought-for synthesis in the concept of "man." American poetry, he argues, has in its time moved between the polarities of human solitariness, of individuality ("the Adamic") and of human community in a culture which gives the poet much of his language and feeling for reality ("the mythic"). The full synthesis will lie beyond any present possibility of prediction:

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[19] Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Continuity of American Poetry*, p. 431.

> Whatever American poetry looks to be in the future, it will be something essentially different from what it has been in the past. I should guess that Stevens, like Eliot, has more in common with Poe and Emerson than he will have with whoever writes major poetry in the next half-century. It might well be a new international poetry, deriving from a sense of the do-or-die universal community of men.[20]

Pearce's approach to American poetry, through its telescoping of modernism, moralism, and historicism, is a fascinating one to any student of the literary thought of the past fifty years. Though Pearce could scarcely get in all the details, he has got in all the major categories of the times which have produced him. What he is lacking, however, is all that Mr. Jarrell has, a greater sense of measure and balance, a spirit that might reflect more of understanding than of zeal to squeeze a massive modernish-moralistic-historical formula out of American poetry.

Finally, Glauco Cambon's *The Inclusive Flame,* though it shares some qualities in common with Pearce's work, is an effort most emphatic where Mr. Pearce's is least so, in its concern with American poetry as speech, the American voice in the world. Cambon, like Pearce, is fond of historical flourishes, but his excursions lead characteristically to studies of our older and more recent poets alike as fashioners of language and, at their best, as discoverers of broadly human eloquence. Writing from a European point of view, he is concerned to demonstrate the rhetorical discoveries of our native poets neglected by historicism, and to place them among the (greatest) of European achievements. His book is another of the triumphs of modernism in the academy, the study of internal poetic means as a key to the nature of poetic history. Emily Dickinson's fondness for the image of circumference, for example, puts her not only into the company of Sir Thomas Browne and Emerson but also Nicholas of Cusa, Parmenides, Empedocles, Karl Jaspers, Mallarmé, and Rilke. It is only fair to say that all this is traced out in a series of lengthy footnotes, but it nevertheless indicates accurately the scope of Cambon's argument.

His book is a useful one with which to end. More than Pearce he seeks to place American poetry in the whole long and inclusive spiral of European poetry, to assert for it an importance transcending any native habitation of standard, to make the world its theater; and to approach our poetry in such a theater is to have come as far as possible from the parochial concerns with which we began. Approaches to American poetry? Now, one must say, they are as inclusive as the whole of Western poetic learning itself.

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[20] *Ibid.,* p. 433.

Modern Criticism and the Teaching of Poetry in the Schools

John A. Myers, Jr.

Although I have been aware of the broad outlines of the literary revolution which Bernard Duffey describes, indeed have pedagogically been a part of this revolution for fifteen years, I have been ignorant of many of its significant details. His paper has given me a new perspective: he has elevated and made more solid the ground from which I can view the implications of recent literary scholarship, particularly that of the last fifty years, for the teaching of poetry in the high schools. And there is no question in my mind that these implications are far-reaching and profound – are themselves revolutionary.

The *structure* of Mr. Duffey's paper is highly significant. If we attend to how his paper begins and how it ends, we can see very clearly not only the nature of the critical revolution that has taken place but one of the major *implications* of this revolution for high school English programs. You will recall that the first part of his paper takes us on a quick survey of nineteenth century poetic practice and critical theory – from Poe to the poets of the nineties like Santayana, Moody, Crane, and Robinson. By far the most significant feature of this stage of our revolution was the movement away from a poetry of *ideality,* designed to exemplify and inculcate either the beautiful or the good, to what might be called a poetry of *revolt,* a poetry which, in the violence of its reaction from a sentimental and impotent conception of the nature and purpose of poetry, was highly critical of our culture and attacked its ideals as shibboleths.

The pedagogical significance of this first movement cannot be underestimated. *Central* to the idealistic school was the notion that, in Mr. Duffey's words, the nineteenth century poets "expressed what were presumed to be *the finer sentiments of a whole culture,*" and that (ostensibly because of their *cultural significance*) "They were to be *learned, not studied.*" What we are dealing with here, of course, is an approach to poetry which is highly *nationalistic* and parochial in character, an approach which would emphasize the Americanness of the American poetry studied in the schools because, I imagine the theory went, such an approach would serve to inculcate certain peculiarly *American* virtues in our students and imbue them with the American spirit. The study of poetry, then, became a kind of adjunct or footnote to the study of American history.

Such an approach, if we can call it that, to the study of *any* body of poetry is, of course, not only critically naive but pedagogically unsound, wasteful, and even damaging. Yet to some extent (which is difficult to measure with any degree of exactness) this approach to poetry in the schools has persisted into the present and is reflected in the proliferation of anthologies of American literature based on historical principles and the persistence to a fairly large extent of the survey of American literature as the traditional eleventh grade English course. This phenomenon, of course, received a crucial assist from what Mr. Duffey refers to as the *academy* (by which he means the universities) in the form of the increased scholarly activity in American letters, which, in the twenties and early thirties, made possible the coming of age of American literature as a legitimate subject for study in the *universities.* When the American literary historians were joined by the New Humanists, with their emphasis on idealistic cultural values and their essentially noncritical view of poetry, we must assume that, intentionally and consciously or not, a powerful alliance was formed, an alliance which obviously has had a tremendous influence on the shaping of secondary school English curricula and the publishing of textbooks therefor.

Furthermore, we must remember that secondary school English teachers are and have been, for the most part, trained in the academies and that teachers, new ones particularly, tend to perpetuate in the schools the shape of what they have been taught in college. The two forces of literary historicism and New Humanism tended to form a united front not only against modern poetry but, much more importantly, *against* the essentially nonhistorical approach to poetry which in the twenties was beginning to be developed by the practicing poets and the nonacademic critics. I believe as I shall show later, that we in the schools have gone a long way toward recovering from the effects of this union of forces; but the fact that we have not recovered entirely, that too many of us, prisoners of our own education and the textbooks we are forced to use, still do not know what to do with poetry in the classroom beyond teaching it as a reflection of American attitudes and ideologies can be explained only by this complex of forces which Mr. Duffey has outlined for us. And I think it is an ironic shame that our English curricula received such a setback, such a hardening of the arteries, at precisely that moment in history when the forces were afoot (modern literary criticism, I mean) which could liberate it and make it sane.

But I am getting ahead of myself. I was referring to the structure of Mr. Duffey's paper and of how clearly he blocks out for us the essential meaning of the American critical revolution. For if he begins with the parochialism of, say, Edmund Clarence Stedman and the theory of poetry as transcendentally clothed or decorated morality, he ends with the internationalism and critical sophistication of Cambon, and the theory of poetry as language, as art, as a complex verbal and rhetorical structure. Modern criticism like Cambon's, in other words, has freed American poetry from the limitations or special characteristics of time and place and established its contemporaneity with Western poetry of all ages and all places. Thus, whatever is specifically *American* about American poetry (assuming that such national characteristics *can* be isolated and distinguished from, say, the characteristics of British poetry of a certain period) loses its significance; and the *study* of American poetry, like the study of any other poetry, is enabled to become the study of "internal *poetic means*" rather than the study of external historical and moral *ends*. One way of putting this might be to say that we can move from the study of "poetry" to the study of *poems*.

This quick juxtaposition of Stedman and Cambon, then, dramatizes and makes very clear one of the major implications of recent criticism for the teaching of poetry in the secondary schools. It is quite simply that we should be and, in fact, have been getting away from the study of *American* poetry *as such* and are focusing our attention more and more on *poetry* as language and as art — as *poetry*. And perhaps the most significant corollary of this new focus is that we have become increasingly aware of the value of the disciplines involved in close, careful, critically informed reading — a value that is primarily intellectual but which has moral implications as well and which is of enormous importance to this whole subject we call "English" in the secondary schools. I shall return to this point later.

Perhaps the most easily identified manifestation of this shift of emphasis in the teaching of poetry in recent years has been the appearance of a number of excellent critical anthologies of poetry designed to be used as textbooks. Most of these were conceived of originally as college textbooks, but as the teaching of literature in the schools has, over the years, become more sophisticated critically, many of the books have found their way into the secondary schools, where they have helped to speed the revolution — or should I say the emancipation. One of the most notable of these is *Sound and Sense: An Introduction to Poetry* by Laurence Perrine, a book being used at every level from the ninth grade to sophomore year in college.[1]

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[1] (2nd ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.).

Some of these books contain analyses or partial analyses of some of the poems in them. Most of them have questions following the poems, questions designed to force the student's attention onto the particulars of diction, imagery, metaphor, tone, structure, meter, and sound in order to discover for themselves what the poem *is* – as well as what it means. Most of them contain some discussion of what poetry is and how it operates and provide useful definitions and explanations of the elements of which poetry is composed. *All* of them have one thing in common: they mix together a rather large number of English and American poems without regard for chronology or nationality of author. Sometimes the poems are grouped according to genre, sometimes according to the poetic technique or element or "way in" (way into the poem) that is to be emphasized. In all cases, I would say, the poems included are selected on the bases of excellence, importance, and teachability. One of the more recent of these books, *Introducing Poetry* by Alice Coleman and John Theobald, a high school text heavy on variety and inclusiveness and light on critical aids, contains poems by the following: Wordsworth, Roethke, Dante, Pound, Chaucer, Salvador Novo, Christine de Pisan, Dylan Thomas, Richard Wilbur, Petrarch, a number of Japanese Haiku, Homer, "King James," James Weldon Johnson, Theocritus, an Ojibway Indian, Eliot, Frost, Keats, Browning, Hopkins, E. E. Cummings, Fyodor Tyutchev, Li Po, William Blake, Rainer Maria Rilke, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Butler Yeats, and Shakespeare – to mention only a few.[2] There is nothing parochial about this book.

Perhaps the foregoing catalogue of names suggests another important contribution that modern criticism has made to the teaching of poetry. It has not only made it possible and desirable to study *modern* poetry (including that of the *contemporary* poets), but it has given us the tools and the techniques to read with far more understanding and appreciation the great traditional poetry of our ancestors on both sides of the ocean. As in the case of say, John Donne, it has opened up an exciting body of long neglected or undervalued older poetry, just as it has demanded the reevaluation (as perhaps in the case of Shelley or Tennyson) of some who may have been overvalued. And it has enabled us to think of poetic contemporaneity as a matter of kinship of poetic sensibility and technique rather than as something depending on the accidents of time and place.

Obviously, then, one of the major implications of modern criticism for the teaching of poetry in the schools has been a shift in our thinking about *what* poetry can and should be taught – as well, perhaps, as what poetry we can allow to go unexamined. And a quick look at the contents of any fairly thoroughgoing historical anthology of American or British poetry will reveal that there is much that a teacher really interested in poetry, and really equipped to teach it well, would want to leave out. Indeed the good teacher would *have* to leave out vast quantities of this material if he is to teach a few poems well, engage the student's interest, and develop his discriminatory powers. In other words, the individual teacher has been freed from the obligation to teach, merely because of its historical significance, a lot of bad poetry or a lot of poetry which, for one reason or another, simply won't work in a given class room. David Holbrook, the English school teacher, has reminded us that the teaching of poetry is often a curiously private affair. In his book *English for Maturity* he has this to say:

> Teaching poetry is at the centre of English, and yet it is something you cannot do unless you find joy in it. A teacher can only teach the poems he or she likes: there is no joy or purpose in teaching a poem you loathe out of a sense of duty because you are told it is a "classic." Whatever those excellent people who believe in disciplines of learning say, you cannot teach a poem under such circumstances. You will be doing something, certainly, maybe something of value, such as giving

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[2] (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1963).

> children the experience of how dull and exasperating adults can be at times. But you will not be giving them the disciplines of enjoying poetry.[3]

Such a view of the relationship of the teacher to the poetry taught in the school assumes, of course, that the teacher is himself a sensitive reader of poetry and a discriminating critic. And this reminds me that the most significant aspect of the critical revolution has been not so much the shift in our thinking about *what* to teach but the *knowledge* it has given us of *how* to teach *a poem* – a knowledge which has forced us to reappraise the whole question of *why* we teach poetry in the first place. The need for prospective teachers of English to avail themselves of this knowledge is great; and this need has enormously important implications for those institutions responsible for the training of secondary school English teachers, for the whole future of teacher training.

In the last twenty-five years, or since this critical knowledge has been available to us in marketable form, there has been a tremendous lag in the methods of or the approach to training secondary school English teachers for the job they have to do. Whether as undergraduates or as graduate students, these prospective teachers simply have not been provided with the kinds of courses or the kind of instruction for which they were to find the most urgent need in the high school classroom. Mr. Duffey has given us an idea of why the academies have failed us in this respect – by pointing to the heavy resistance to nonacademic criticism on the part of the historicists and the New Humanists. These scholars, I suppose we could say, had a kind of vested interest in perpetuating their own image and their own system of scholarship in the students who came under them. Fortunately, the practicing poets and practitioners of criticism began to "infiltrate" the universities in the thirties and succeeded, to some extent, in breaking down this resistance. At least, by the forties there was enough of the new criticism (and I am using the lower case here) in the air for some of us to sniff it; and if we could tell a hawk from a handsaw, we seized upon it with what must have seemed like alarming enthusiasm. But apparently "the word" never did spread far and wide enough, a fact which is reflected in the direction taken by our latest efforts at teacher training and teacher *retraining*. In one such effort, the summer institutes for English teachers, sponsored at twenty universities in 1962 by the Commission on English, one of the three course offerings (the other two being courses in language and composition) was a course in literature in which the emphasis fell heavily on the critical approach to the reading of poetry.

No one knows how long it will take to repair all the damage done by this lag, but for those secondary school English teachers who came fairly early to the approach of modern criticism, the last fifteen or twenty years have sometimes seemed frustrating. For us, the real revolution in critical theory, faintly signalled by Amy Lowell's *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry* in 1917, was heralded by the publication, in 1938, of *Understanding Poetry* by Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren.[4] The real effects of this book, of course, were not felt until the years immediately following World War II; but for many of us who were preparing ourselves to *teach* English in those years (and I must insist upon a distinction between those who were preparing to teach English and those who were preparing to perpetuate a system of scholarship) this book and this whole approach to the understanding and appreciation of poetry (really an approach to the understanding of literature in general) came as a kind of revelation. It made *sense* because it opened up for us a way of talking about an actual poem in an actual classroom, and because the technique of focusing upon a poem as *language*, rather than as history or biography or morality, gave a whole new meaning to and justification for the teaching of poetry.

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[3] David Holbrook, *English for Maturity* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 63.

[4] 3rd ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960).

What I am referring to here is what might almost be called the intellectual morality — or if you prefer, *integrity* — that is involved in and inculcated by the discipline of looking closely at a piece of language to discover how it works and how it has gained its emotional hold on us, perhaps to discover whether its hold on us is valid or justifiable. I am speaking of the value of experiencing the *discipline* of literature so that we may discipline our own minds and our own response to language. In short I am speaking of the moral value inherent in learning to read well so that we may avoid the mistake of the New Humanists, who, according to Mr. Winters, "have never learned to read well and so cannot discover where the morality they cherish is to be found in poetry."

I have always felt that Messrs. Brooks and Warren have, through the publication of *Understanding Poetry* and *Understanding Fiction* (1943),[5] done more than any of the other critics, scholars, and teachers to bring the new critical approach to literature into the classroom. Both of these books have undergone several revisions and are still as sound as any other books for teaching what poetry and fiction are all about, for teaching students how to read. I have used both books as texts for some fifteen years, partly out of a kind of nostalgia for what they represent and what they did for my teaching, and partly because I have grown comfortable with them — perhaps too comfortable.

But using Brooks and Warren, or one of the many excellent critically oriented textbooks that have come along after that first wave, does not easily lead to comfort or complacency in one's teaching. Mr. Duffey reminds us that the whole interest of the Humanists was dominated by historical and moral *abstractions*. And this is precisely the kind of moral or message-hunting, usually characterized by a kind of fuzziness of reaction to the poem, that Brooks and Warren warn us against almost immediately in their introduction. It is here that Longfellow's "A Psalm of Life" is juxtaposed against Wordsworth's "Expostulation and Reply" for the purpose of making it quite clear that which ever of these poems we like best, our preference cannot legitimately depend on the message. If it did, we could not possibly like both poems. That is, if we found ourselves agreeing with Longfellow's earnest advice to be up and doing, we would disqualify ourselves from enjoying Wordsworth's poem, which tells us that "one should learn in contemplation to cultivate a 'wise passiveness'." And the real point is that after studying the poems in the book to discover the tension that exists between form and language and idea and after learning that a good poem cannot consist of a mere series of pronouncements, however well-rhymed and outfitted with catchy metaphors, most students will agree that Wordsworth's is a better poem, that Longfellow has somehow contrived to turn his message into a cliché. It often seems to me that one of the greatest values derived from the study of poetry is that such discipline can guard our minds against (rather than inure them in) the moral, spiritual, political, and historical clichés which abound everywhere in these days of mass communication. It may be that poetry can save us all from becoming Boobi Americani.

But of course the insuring of intellectual integrity is not the only value in poetry or the only reason why we should learn to read it properly. We should not forget that poetry can provide intense *enjoyment*, can add a rich dimension of delight in the language that is our heritage, can make us more responsive to the verbal world in which we do so much of our living. I cannot remember how or why *I* first came to find intense enjoyment in poetry. Certainly it had nothing to do with anything any teacher taught me about it because in my school days (in the late 30's) not many teachers really knew how to teach poetry. I think I was just one of those peculiar people who was somehow destined to be an English teacher and that my enjoyment of poetry grew out of a kind of visceral excitement over what struck me as the beauty and power of the language of certain poems of Wordsworth, Browning, and Keats.

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[5] (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960).

My responsiveness to poetry, in other words, came about almost *in spite of* rather than because of my teachers, and I don't think we can any longer afford to take this chance with our own students. I am always reminded of what F. Scott Fitzgerald said about his experience with poetry when he was in college – around 1916 and 1917. In a fine letter to his daughter in 1940, when *she* was in college, he had this to say: "... one of my first discoveries was that some of the professors who were teaching poetry really hated it and didn't know what it was about. I got into a series of endless scraps with them, so that finally I dropped English altogether. Poetry is either something that lives like fire inside you – like music to the musician or Marxism to the Communist – or else it is nothing, an empty, formalized bore, around which pedants can endlessly drone their notes and explanations. 'The Grecian Urn' is unbearably beautiful, with every syllable as inevitable as the notes in Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony,* or it's just something you don't understand ... I suppose I've read it a hundred times. About the tenth time I began to know what it was about, and *caught the china in it and the exquisite inner mechanics.* Likewise with the 'Nightingale,' which I can never read through without tears in my eyes – *Knowing these things very young and granted an ear,* one could scarcely ever afterwards be unable to distinguish between gold and dross in what one read. In themselves those ... poems [he mentions eight in this passage] are a *scale of workmanship for anybody who wants to know truly about words,* their most utter value for evocation, persuasion or charm."

I do not know what those professors were doing with those poems back in 1916 or 1917, but whatever it was, they were not helping Fitzgerald to comprehend "the exquisite inner mechanics"; and they were not teaching him "truly about words." One suspects that they were spending a lot of time talking about history and biography and periods and trends and perhaps a little philosophy – almost anything but the poem itself. Of course, one is never *certain* that a *teacher,* using any approach, can inculcate the kind of appreciation that Fitzgerald speaks of here. And Fitzgerald's remarks do remind us that mere analysis is not enough, that if the student does not come to some kind of felt synthesis of the poem, his experience of the poem will have been a barren one. Still, we all know that one cannot arrive at a synthesis until he has become aware of the poem's separable parts: its diction, its imagery, its figures of speech, its sound effects, its speaking voice, its tone, its metrical effects, its overall structure, its movement, its peculiar dramatic quality, its paraphrasable statement, and even its grammar. Showing a student these things, at any rate, is the best service a teacher can perform in the classroom, and modern criticism has shown us how to perform this service. Certainly, we can't go into the classroom, simply read the poem, and say, "Do you get it? Isn't that wonderful!" And although we certainly *can* talk about the poem's total meaning and its relevance to the human condition, our initial obligation as teachers is to show our students how to go about getting into a poem, breaking it open, so to speak, so that it can be put back together and the student can respond to that *whole* which is always greater than and different from the sum of its parts.

To some of us, Fitzgerald's statement may sound a bit naive critically, a bit too impressionistic. But I believe that he spoke better than he knew, and that he was reaching toward the kind of insight about the nature of the poetic experience which Amy Lowell and the critics who followed in her train put into more organized and formalized terms. He understood, you see, the importance of the *language* of the poem and of the *order* that language brings out of chaos. He knew that the reception of and response to this kind of *language-order* is itself a significant experience and brings with it a kind of knowledge. He was aware that poetry is not a mere signalling system *for* experience – not a mere *substitute* for "real" experience – but that it is an experience itself, as real as any other experience. He understood that one doesn't dwell only on some abstraction of the poem called its "meaning" – but that when one responds to a poem, something "happens" to him which makes him somehow different from the person he was before experiencing the poem – different because more *aware*, intellectually, esthetically, and above all emotionally.

Joy, discipline, honesty, sensitivity, awareness, emotional capacity – these are the values we hope our students will gain from the reading and study of poetry, American or otherwise. And modern criticism, the new approaches, if you will, has not only given us the tools and techniques with which to do our job; it has defined for us our responsibilities as English teachers.

Recent Scholarship in American Ideas

Theodore Hornberger

Since the end of World War II, two helpful efforts have been made to survey scholarship on American nonfictional prose. In 1951 a committee of the American Literature Group of the MLA, with James D. Hart as its chairman, published a report on *Trends in Research in American Literature, 1940-1950.* Two years later, in 1953, René Wellek contributed a literary essay on literary scholarship in general to *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century,* a book edited by Merle Curti for the Library of Congress Committee on American Civilization.[1] Both the Hart Committee and Wellek operated upon a much larger scale than that to which I am confining myself, but I shall have occasion to refer to certain of their ideas before I am through.

There is a good deal of danger in any survey of nonfictional prose. It includes histories, biographies, autobiographies, journals, letters, speeches, sermons, tracts, treatises, and almost as many kinds of essays as there are kinds of Baptists. It is a category which lumps together the intensely personal forms of literary expression and the most formal and elaborate exegesis of philosophy, theology, and literary criticism. Furthermore, practically everybody writes it. Perhaps one could find a pure poet, who expressed himself always in verse and never wrote a letter home to mother, but I have never encountered such a neatly wrapped-up man of letters. In other words, nonfictional prose is a vast subject and its writers legion.

In preparing this paper, I examined two well-known bibliographies: (1) that which Thomas H. Johnson compiled in 1948 for the third volume of the *Literary History of the United States,* with its continuation and updating by Richard M. Ludwig;[2] and (2) the annual listings in *PMLA.*

I went to Johnson and Ludwig (as the Hart Committee did) to get a working list of significant authors, some of which I hoped to identify with nonfictional prose. They provide individual bibliographies for 223 writers. The Hart Committee called these "major" authors, rather generously perhaps; at least it can be presumed that they were all felt to have enduring interest to scholars. One might quarrel with some of the choices made by Johnson and Ludwig, particularly after they got to the twentieth century, but I have found no giant whom they omitted and it seems to me that their 223 authors are as representative a group as can be easily assembled.

Seventy-four of the 233, or roughly one third, are in my opinion primarily interesting for their work in nonfictional prose. I say "in my opinion" because any such selection gets complicated. I have not included Poe, Holmes, and Lowell, for example, even though it is hard to discuss literary criticism and the essay without them; the only ground for their exclusion is an impression that scholars have tended to focus their attention upon these men as poets or as writers of fiction.

Scholarship on American Nonfictional Prose, 1946-1963
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Distribution by Chronological Periods

A. To 1800	595
B. 1800-1870	1034
C. 1870-1900	164
D. Since 1900	219

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[1] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

[2] Robert E. Spiller and others. (New York: Macmillan and Company. 1948, 1953, 1964).

Distribution by Individual Authors

Thoreau	427
Emerson	422
Franklin	234
Jefferson	107
Henry Adams	96
Mencken	72
Santayana	55
Edwards	44
Lincoln	42
Paine	40
Brownson	30
Prescott	24
Margaret Fuller	21
Hearn	21
Cotton Mather	21
Parkman	20
Edmund Wilson	19
Channing	18
Alcott	16
William James	16
John Adams	15
Dewey	14
Woolman	12
Burroughs	12
Burke	12

10-6 Items in PMLA Bibliographies.

J. Bartram, W. Bartram, Crèvecoeur, Dickinson, Hamilton, Hooker, Madison, Penn, Washington, Williams, Parker, George, Woodberry, Babbitt, More.

5-1 Items.

Bradford, Cotton, Dennie, I. Mather, Otis, Sewall, Smith, Ward, Winthrop, Wise, Audubon, Bancroft, Beecher, Calhoun, Clay, Gayarré, Motley, Bayard Taylor, Blackmur, Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Brownell, Huneker, Lewisohn, Muir, Sherman, Woodrow Wilson.

0 Items on Authors listed by Johnson and Ludwig.

Eliot, Pastorius, Shepard, Webster, Fiske, C. W. Stoddard.

Distribution by Types or Subject Matter

I. Sermons; Religious and Theological Tracts; Philosophical Essays.
  A. Cotton (4), Edwards (44), Eliot (0), Hooker (7), C. Mather (21), I. Mather (2), Paine (40), Shepard (0), Ward (5), Williams (4), Wise (4), Woolman (12).
  B. Alcott (16), Beecher (1), Brownson (30), Channing (18), Emerson (422), Fuller (21), Parker (6), Thoreau (427).
  C. Fiske (0), W. James (16).
  D. Dewey (14), Santayana (55).

II. Political, Economic, Social Essays, and Criticism.
  A. J. Adams (15), Dickinson (6), Franklin (234), Hamilton (7), Jefferson (107), Madison (9), Otis (1), Paine, Washington (7), Wise, Woolman.

B. Calhoun (3), Clay (2), Lincoln (42), Webster (0).
C. George (6).
D. Bourne (4), Huneker (5), Mencken (72), W. Wilson (4).

III. Travel Accounts and Nature Essays.
A. J. Bartram (9), W. Bartram (7), Byrd (12), Crèvecoeur (10), Pastorius (0), Penn (9), Smith (5).
B. Audubon (5), Thoreau.
C. Burroughs (12), Stoddard (0), Taylor (3).
D. Muir (5).

IV. History.
A. Bradford (4), Winthrop (4).
B. Bancroft (4), Gayarré (1), Motley (3), Parkman (20), Prescott (24).
C. H. Adams (96), Fiske.
D. W. Wilson.

V. Literary Criticism.
A. Dennie (4).
B.
C. Hearn (21), Woodberry (10).
D. Babbitt (10), Blackmur (1), Brooks (5), Brownell (2), Burke (12), Lewisohn (2), More (6), Sherman (3), E. Wilson (19).

VI. Diaries, Journals, Autobiographies.
A. Byrd, Edwards, Franklin, Sewall (2), Woolman.
B. Emerson, Thoreau, Parkman.
C. H. Adams.
D. Santayana.

For better or for worse, then, I got a list of 74 authors, all of whose names appear on the appended chart. With this list I went to the *PMLA* bibliographies. They, too, are an imperfect tool. They are not always complete; they permit a few repetitions which I cannot claim to have eliminated in the course of my somewhat hasty counting; they do little to separate the trivial from the significant (hurriedly edited paperbacks count for as much here as the most solid biographical and critical studies); and they fail to give a clear picture of the very considerable scholarship which is embodied in books and articles organized by period or by topic rather than in terms of some aspect of the work of a particular author. With all these disadvantages, however, the *PMLA* bibliographies provide the best approximation I can readily find of the relative popularity of the various periods, authors, and types as subjects for close study and commentary.

The *PMLA* lists divide American literature into four periods: (A) the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; (B) 1800-1870; (C) 1870-1900; and (D) the twentieth century. The Hart Committee was not satisfied with this division and came up with five chronological periods: (1) the seventeenth century; (2) 1700-1785; (3) 1785-1840; (4) 1840-1885; and (5) 1885-1950. I have stuck with the *PMLA* division, although my impulse is to see the third period as extending from 1870 to 1910 or 1915. Pretty soon we are going to have to break up the twentieth century somewhere, but that is a side issue.

For my 74 authors I counted 2,012 entries in the *PMLA* bibliographies. These I have tried to distribute in three ways: by period, by author, and by type.

Period Distribution

Over 1,600 of the 2,012 items, or about 80 percent of the total, relate to Periods A and B, American literature prior to 1870. Two thirds of these, or about 50 percent of the total, relate to Period B, 1800-1870. This is the period which has been variously labeled as the Age of Emerson, the American Renaissance, the Golden Day, and the Flowering of New England. It is clearly the period in which scholarship on nonfictional prose has been most active.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, have done remarkably well, considering how often those of us who teach in the colleges lament our students' lack of interest in the colonial period. The 1870-1900 period and the twentieth century have done rather poorly, but one must remember the dominance of fiction and poetry. If there were an overall popularity contest, the four top runners would almost certainly be Henry James, Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, and William Faulkner, all of whom wrote since 1870.

Author Distribution

When we look at the work on individual authors, we find at once that the impressive showing of Period B is the result of an extraordinary interest in two New England authors: Thoreau and Emerson. Between them they account for 849 of the 2,012 entries, or 40 percent of all the publication on nonfictional prose and 80 percent of that on the central 1800-1870 period.

These figures need some discounting, however, because the establishment of the Thoreau and Emerson societies, each of which has its own specialized periodical, has made the printing of relatively trivial notes easier than it would be if the students of the Transcendentalists had to rely on the more general scholarly journals. Unquestionably, however, some of the most substantial work on nonfictional prose has been on Thoreau and Emerson and their contemporaries. Of this we shall see more evidence in a few moments.

Nearly 40 percent of the entries for Period A are on Benjamin Franklin. Nearly 20 percent are on Thomas Jefferson. In Period C, Henry Adams accounts for 58 percent of the entries. Finally, in Period D, the twentieth century, 32 percent of the entries relate to H. L. Mencken.

Quite clearly, then, the work on nonfictional prose, like that on other types of literature, tends toward concentration upon a fairly small number of authors. This phenomenon was observed by the Hart Committee, and is obvious to anyone who looks at the manuscripts offered for publication to scholarly journals. I shall return to this fact later.

Distribution by Type and Subject Matter

So much for statistics. Mine are, let me repeat, no more than approximations. The range and quality of recent scholarship are more readily grasped, I believe, by some exploration of what things are being done. I have therefore tried to classify my 74 authors under six categories, as follows:

I. Sermons, Religious and Theological Tracts, Philosophical Essays.
II. Political, Economic, and Social Essays and Criticism.
III. Travel Accounts and Nature Essays.
IV. History.
V. Literary Criticism.
VI. Diaries, Journals, Autobiographies.

Categories I and II are based upon subject matter; they could really be grouped together under some such head as Literature of Persuasion. The last four categories are fairly well-defined literary types. Obviously any classification of this kind has to oversimplify, and even then there are authors who can not be tucked away neatly. John

Woolman, for example, appears in Categories I, II, and VI, and it would be hard to leave him out of any one of them.

Category I

The list of writers on religious and philosophical subjects suggests, perhaps, that the preacher-writer of the colonial period gave way to the Transcendentalist lecturers and essayists, and that they in turn were replaced by the professional philosophers. This, however, may be no more than an accidental result of Johnson's and Ludwig's choices. There is a tendency to be generous to the seventeenth century Puritans, because of the sparseness of literary production by other groups, and, on the other hand, a tendency to hew to more belletristic standards in regarding writers of the more prolific later periods. If Henry Ward Beecher deserves a place in Period B, certainly Horace Bushnell does in Period C, and Walter Rauschenbusch in Period D. One could even make a case for Harry Emerson Fosdick, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Stephen Wise. Apparently most of us have an eye for the old sermonizers, but no ear for those of our own time.

A

The most substantial work in Period A under Category I has been that on Jonathan Edwards. Perry Miller's important critical study of Edwards as a writer appeared in 1949, [3] and ten years later the Yale University Press published the first volume of a critical edition of Edwards' works, still in progress. Miller was the general editor. Reappraisal of other colonial writers has not gone very far, although Larzer Ziff's *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience* (1962) deserves singling out as a model of what can be done. [4] The most valuable new work on Cotton Mather is *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (1954), by Otho T. Beall, Jr., and Richard H. Shryock. [5] I shall comment on John Wise and John Woolman under other headings.

B

As I have already said, the work on Thoreau and Emerson is most impressive. A partial list would include Joseph Wood Krutch's *Thoreau* (1948), [6] Ralph L. Rusk's *Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1949), [7] Vivian C. Hopkins' *Spires of Form: A Study of Emerson's Aesthetic Theory* (1951), [8] Ethel Seybold's *Thoreau: The Quest and the Classics* (1951), [9] Sherman Paul's two fascinating works (*Emerson's Angle of Vision: Man and Nature in American Experience*, 1952, [10] and *The Shores of America: Thoreau's Inward Exploration*, 1958 [11]), Stephen Whicher's *Freedom and Fate: An Inner Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1953), [12] and Walter Harding's *A Thoreau Handbook* (1959). [13] Even more awe-inspiring, probably, is the editing which Thoreau and Emerson have received in recent years. Walter Harding and Carl Bode's edition of Thoreau's correspondence (1958) opened new vistas,[14] as did the publication of Emerson's early lectures edited by Robert E. Spiller, Stephen E. Whicher, and (for the second volume, just published) Wallace E. Williams. [15] The difficulties of establishing an exact text appear in their most formidable form in the new edition of Emerson's journals, of which the chief editor on a considerable board is William Gilman.[16] The first two volumes of this amazingly meticulous work appeared in 1961; four additional volumes have been published since. There has been no comparable reediting of Thoreau's journals, originally printed in fourteen volumes in 1906, but Dover Publications brought out in 1962 a two-volume reprint, which gets on a nine-by-thirteen-inch page four pages of the old edition.[17] Walter Harding has provided a headnote for this ingenious use of photography, which gives us at moderate expense a work long out of reach of impecunious scholars.

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[3] *Jonathan Edwards* (reissued; Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, Meridian Books M75).
[4] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).
[5] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1954).
[6] (Reissued; New York: Bantam Books, Inc., SC162, 1962).
[7] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, 1957).
[8] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).
[9] (*Yale Studies in English*, Vol. 116; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952).
[10] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).
[11] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958).
[12] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, 1957; also New York: A. S. Barnes, Inc., 1961).
[13] New York: New York University Press, 1959).
[14] (New York: New York University Press, 1958).
[15] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).

The vigorous tilling of the Emerson-Thoreau vineyard has been accompanied by extensive digging on other New Englanders of their era. Outstanding biographies include Arthur W. Brown's *Always Young for Liberty* (1956), a study of William Ellery Channing,[18] and Henry Steele Commager's *Theodore Parker: Yankee Crusader* (1947).[19] There has been a steady interest in Orestes A. Brownson, perhaps because of his eventual conversion to Roman Catholicism. Margaret Fuller and Bronson Alcott continue to attract attention.

In all the main fields of literary scholarship – the establishment of texts, biography, and criticism – the work in the 1800-1870 period has been remarkable and important.

C

In the last two or three years, the enormous interest in Henry James seems to have brought renewed study of his philosopher-brother. Several scholars have suggested that William James's psychological interests were important to the novelist. William James, of course, has his place in any consideration of the development of pragmatism and similar matters of importance to all who explore the backgrounds of American thought.

D

Most of the work on John Dewey has been rather technical, so far as I can judge. This is not true, however, of George Santayana, who was a novelist as well as a philosopher. Twenty-three of the 55 entries relating to Santayana appeared in the two years following his death in 1952, but the writing about him has been fairly steady ever since.

Category II

Under Category II fall another group of persuaders. Here are the political writers of the American Revolution, the orators and philosophers of the early nineteenth century debate over slavery and states' rights, and the critics of American social and intellectual shortcomings, Henry George and H. L. Mencken. Some literary critics find these men "unliterary," but to read them out of the canon of American literature is to discard some of the best American writing. Here, if anywhere, is the flowering of the democratic traditions of free speech and honest difference of opinion. Johnson and Ludwig might well have added some other twentieth century writers had they been thinking in terms of this category. My nominations would be Walter Lippmann, E. B. White, and James Baldwin.

A & B

In the number of entries, only Franklin and Jefferson are impressive among the political writers prior to 1870. Here, however, is an area where statistics fail to reflect the truly monumental labors of the last eighteen years of American scholarship. An enormous amount of work has gone into providing better and more convenient collections of the materials upon which future scholars can rely for their inevitable reappraisals. Max Farrand's Parallel Text Edition of Franklin's *Memoirs* led the way in 1949.[20] In 1950 the Princeton University Press began publishing *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* under the editorship of Julian P. Boyd. Roy P. Basler and others provided *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* in nine volumes in 1953. In 1959 no fewer than three vast editorial projects got under way: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* edited by Leonard W. Labaree and others and published by the Yale University Press under the joint sponsorship of Yale University and the American Philosophical Society; *The Papers of John C. Calhoun,* edited by Robert L. Meriwether and published by the University of South Carolina Press; and *The Papers of Henry Clay,* edited for the University of Kentucky Press by James F. Hopkins. In 1951 two more long-term projects joined the parade: *The Adams Papers,* edited by L. H. Butterfield and others for the Harvard University Press; and *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton,* edited by Robert C. Syrett and Jacob E. Cooke and published by the Columbia University Press. Finally, in 1962, came the first two volumes of *The Papers of James Madison,* edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachel for the University of Chicago Press. Some of this work is on a scale undreamed of twenty-five years ago, and it is obvious that the full impact of these editions will not be measurable for many years.

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[16] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).

[17] (New York: Dover Publications, 1962).

[18] (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1956, 1962).

[19] (Reissued; Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher; also Boston: Beacon Press).

In addition to the new texts, much distinguished work has been done in this area. Three multivolumed biographies have been pushed through to completion: Douglas Southall Freeman's *George Washington* (1954),[21] Broadus Mitchell's *Hamilton* (1962),[22] and Page Smith's *John Adams* (1962).[23] Franklin scholarship has been substantially changed for the better by Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press* (1950),[24] Gerald Stourzh's *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy* (1954),[25] I. Bernard Cohen's *Franklin and Newton* (1956),[26] and Alfred O. Aldridge's *Franklin and His French Contemporaries* (1957).[27] Of the lesser figures, John Wise has been the subject of a useful book: George Allan Cook's *John Wise: Early American Democrat* (1952).[28]

C & D

The quantity of attention given H. L. Mencken is worth thoughtful notice. Of the 72 entries in the *PMLA* lists, 13 came in 1956, the year of Mencken's death. But the interest in him has remained constant ever since, and it begins to look as if those of us who tended a dozen years ago to write off Mencken as a burned-out Roman candle will have to revise our opinions. He may not have written for the ages, but perhaps his assessment of American society between the two World Wars is going to stick in people's minds as the best we have in nonfictional prose from that era.

Category III

Travel writers and nature essayists have long attracted a loyal but small following among readers, and it is rather surprising that we have in our time so few distinguished practitioners of these rather special literary arts. Again some names might be added to the Johnson and Ludwig list: Joseph Wood Krutch, perhaps, Rachel Carson, Loren Eiseley. All of these stand up well alongside John Burroughs, not to mention Bayard

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[20] (Berkeley and San Marino: University of California Press and Huntington Library, 1949).
[21] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948-1954).
[22] (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957, 1962).
[23] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1962).
[24] (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1950).
[25] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).
[26] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956).
[27] (New York: New York University Press, 1957).
[28] (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1952).

Taylor. But it may well be that no one since John Muir has written enduring charm about the American wilderness. There isn't much left of it any more.

The central figure in this category is of course Thoreau. If we leave Byrd for Category VI, as I shall do, Crèvecoeur is the runner-up. In the last two years we have had two translations of his *Voyage dans la haute Pennsylvanie et dans l'etat de New York* (1801), which was turned into German in 1802 but not until now available in English.[29] One of the translators, Percy G. Adams, has published a number of articles which have added materially to our knowledge of Crèvecoeur.

Category IV

The writing of history has been one of the favorite occupations of Americans, but few historians have won much reputation as literary artists. Francis Parkman is the outstanding exception. A number of twentieth century historians may have been overlooked by Johnson and Ludwig; there are several who seem to me the equals of George Bancroft and John Fiske. A good many historians, however, would rather be social scientists than men of letters and, rightly or wrongly, there is a current impression that interesting history is somehow journalistic or superficial.

A

In the colonial period, Bradford and Winthrop have continued to attract scholarly attention. The best text we have of Bradford is Samuel Eliot Morison's, published in 1952,[30] and two good books on Winthrop have appeared recently: Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (1958)[31] and Richard S. Dunn's *Puritans and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty of New England* (1962).[32]

B

History in the Golden Day is represented chiefly by William Hickling Prescott and Parkman. The centenary of Prescott's death brought a rash of articles on him in 1959 – 19 of the 24 entries under his name. The concern with Parkman has been steadier, and among the contributions to the study of his work are Mason Wade's edition of the *Journals* (1947),[33] Otis A. Pease's *Parkman's History: The Historian as Literary Artist* (1953),[34] and Wilbur R. Jacobs' edition of the *Letters* (1960).[35]

C

The historian who has attracted the most commentators in recent years is, however, Henry Adams, who was also a novelist and an autobiographer. The two chief writers on Adams have been professors of English, not professors of history. Ernest Samuels' *The Young Henry Adams* appeared in 1948,[36] his *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* ten years later,[37] and *Henry Adams: The Major Phase* in October, 1964.[38] On a smaller scale, and with a critical rather than a biographical slant, is J. C. Levenson's *The Mind and Art of Henry Adams* (1957).[39]

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[29] *Eighteenth Century Travels in Pennsylvania and New York,* tr. and ed. Percy G. Adams (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961).

Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York, tr. Clarissa S. Bostelmann (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964).

[30] *William Bradford, of Plymouth Plantation,* ed. Samuel E. Morison (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952).

[31] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958).

[32] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).

[33] (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1947).

[34] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953).

[35] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

[36] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948).

[37] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

[38] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).

Category V

A glance at the fifth category confirms what we know already: that the twentieth century is conspicuous for its absorption in criticism. The New Humanists and the New Critics, between them, very nearly preempt the type. As Willard Thorp has said in his *American Writing in the Twentieth Century* (1960), "in the past half century the Cinderella of the literary arts is criticism."[40] No other nonfictional prose is as characteristic of our time. The number of anthologists of critical essays on major authors (such as Prentice-Hall's series, "Twentieth Century Views") is highly thought provoking. There has never been a time when so many writers have made reputations primarily if not exclusively by writing about other writers. Poe, Lowell, Emerson, and Thoreau, who should perhaps be listed in this category, did a bit of this kind of thing, but they did other things as well.

Category VI

The final category, embracing diaries, journals, and autobiographies, offers a number of the most widely read books which Americans have written. Almost any selection of great American literary documents would include Edwards' *Personal Narrative,* Franklin's *Autobiography,* Woolman's *Journal,* and *The Education of Henry Adams.* Quite possibly Santayana's three-volume *Persons and Places* will go on such a list before long. Moreover, the diaries of William Byrd and Samuel Sewall attract more and more attention as time goes on, and the journals of Emerson and Thoreau, while not as well known as *The American Scholar* and *Walden,* are the mines from which the more famous works were extracted and, to a sophisticated reader, among the most fascinating works of their kind in English.

Most of the textual work for these writers has already been described. A few additions should be made. A new annotated edition of Franklin's *Autobiography* was published by the Yale University Press in May, 1964, with Leonard W. Labaree as its chief editor. It will probably be the standard working text for some years to come. Only since 1958 have we had Byrd's *London Diary* of 1717-1721, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tingling;[41] it is by far the liveliest and most illuminating of the three sections of Byrd's shorthand diary thus far known. Of particular significance is the ready availability of many of these works in paperback. At my last count there were eight different paperbacks in print of Franklin's *Autobiography,* as well as paperback editions of Woolman's *Journal, The Education of Henry Adams,* and the first volume of Santayana's autobiography, *The Background of My Life* (first published in 1944). Sewall's diary is still hard to come by, even in Mark Van Doren's abridgment, but some day before long we shall have an annotated edition. It is much needed.

Conclusions

So much for description. I have tried to give you an impression of the recent scholarship in one segment — and not the largest segment by any means — of American literature. At the risk of stealing some of the thunder of the discussant, I am now going to make some reflections upon problems which this description has suggested.

The first thing which I wonder about is how much of the effort of literary scholars should go toward editing. A great deal has obviously gone in that direction in the last eighteen years, and it is customary to praise such effort indiscriminately. A great deal of further editing is in the offing; a committee of the American Literature Group of the MLA has prepared a schedule of priorities for the collected works of major authors. I think personally that everyone who engages in these efforts should read and keep in mind some remarks by René Wellek, in the essay I referred to at the beginning of this paper. Everyone, he says, "will recognize the value of a good text and of accurate, relevant annotation. Medieval manuscripts and corrupt Elizabethan plays need special care. But, increasingly, misgivings have been expressed whether the efforts which have gone into the collation of variants (sometimes of quite trivial nature) or of scraps of personal and business correspondence are in any way commensurate with the results, even for the literary historians." Wellek goes on to observe that editing is, after all, a preparatory work rather than an end in itself. Some of the editing I have described is open to attack along this line, particularly that of Emerson's *Journals*. The attempt to represent a manuscript with complete accuracy (an impossible task when you come right down to it, unless one resorts to photography) involves such a plethora of punctuation — brackets, arrows, carets, and pointing hands, often in several varieties—that most teachers are going to go back (or so I predict) to the out-of-print and doubtless selective edition.

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[39] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957).

[40] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960).

[41] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).

Another thing that causes me to wonder is the obvious concentration of scholarship on a handful of "giant" figures, in this case Thoreau and Emerson. As I have noted, this bothered the Hart Committee, who tended to deprecate the failure of scholars to deal with the lesser-known writers. Supervisors of doctoral dissertations can perhaps do something about this, but I think the real solution is for every teacher of literature to have a few "way-out" enthusiasms. If he is fond of a very minor writer because he knows that writer's grandniece or sister-in-law, let him say so. The Transcendentalist who entrances me is Christopher Cranch.

Still a third cause of wonderment is what appears to be a lack of concern about the less "literary" types of contemporary writing. The high school teacher and the teacher of freshman composition are apparently more aware of the power of the "literature of ideas" than is the scholar. The high school anthologies of American literature and the freshman English courses give space to articles, essays, and biographies which scholarship tends to ignore. Scholars tend to lament the passing of the essay and to explain its demise as a result of the stepped-up tempo of modern life, which has destroyed everything that requires leisure. I think this is nonsense, that there is distinguished contemporary writing in all the categories I have so arbitrarily isolated. Religion, politics, man's relation to nature, the flow of history — all are still with us. Some of our preachers and pundits have to write too much and too often, but they have had their predecessors, and some of them may write better than we think they do. *Harper's* and *The Atlantic* are not what they used to be, perhaps, but they are still worth reading. As teachers of literature we need to remember that literature is a living thing and that it serves different ends with different individuals. It is as much our job to prepare Johnny to read *The Education of Henry Adams* as it is to lead Susie into the mazes of *The Sound and the Fury*.

Scholarship in Ideas: Implications for School Programs

J. N. Hook

I begin with a disclaimer. I am not a scholar in American literature, and I am certainly not an authority on the history of American ideas. I am, however, a person who is devoting his life to the improvement of English teaching, especially in secondary schools. An important part of that teaching must be an exploration of what we on this program are calling "American" ideas. However, we should not falsely assume that very many ideas are peculiar to America. Perhaps the greatest, the unique, American ideas are those embodied in the Constitution and therefore in our form of government. In general, though, American ideas should be studied as part of a larger pattern. They should be related to the ideas, the concerns, the dreams, the hopes and aspirations of all mankind.

To develop this point, I should like to use as an example the program in literature for grades 10, 11, and 12 that has been developed and is being tested in selected Pittsburgh high schools in connection with the Project English Curriculum Study Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology.[1] Tenth grade work for these college-bound students of above-average ability is devoted to world literature.

In the study of that literature, the students pay greatest attention to the universal concerns of man. Each of us might define those concerns somewhat differently, but most of us would probably include such things as the concern for physical survival, the desire to love and be loved, the essential loneliness of a man even in a crowd, the hope for a better world for one's children, the natural and desirable rebelliousness of youth, the contrary groping by the aged toward the past, the inevitability of conflict. It is the examination of these universal concerns, the Pittsburgh people believe, that provides a framework for much later study of literature. In the tenth grade they notice also how these concerns are modified by the culture pattern of each country whose literature is represented – that in a rugged land like the Far North, for example, the concern for physical survival must take priority over everything else, or that in a relatively advanced society like that of the ancient Greeks at least some of the populace were concerned with metaphysical inquiry, with an attempt to define the good life, with esthetics and the like. Geography, sociology, and the political system are among the many influences upon literature.

Then in the eleventh grade the subject matter changes in the Carnegie curriculum, and the emphases also change. Now the focus is upon American literature. The universal concerns of man are not forgotten: Americans, after all, are part of the universe. But the emphasis in the eleventh grade is upon the ways that the universal concerns of man are modified by the American cultural pattern, broadly defined. For example, we are unusually fortunate in our natural resources; we once had what seemed to be limitless amounts of land and timber and iron ore, and we still have vast reserves of coal and natural gas and water power. The existence of this physical wealth has inevitably affected the patterns of our lives; we do not, for example, have to wander across desert wastes like the nomads of Arabia, nor do we have to rely greatly upon foreign lands for food and clothing as must the inhabitants of Britain's overpopulated islands. Our literature, then, reflects our physical wealth and its impact upon our culture. We have had time to think, even though we have had relatively few bold thinkers. If Emerson and Santayana and Mencken had been Eskimos, they would have had to spend so much time hunting seals, they would have had to spend so many hours in smoky igloos, that they would hardly have developed the large vision that America made possible. The limitations of their surroundings would have made them different men.

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[1] See p. 78.

As another example of effect upon cultural pattern, which inevitably affects what men write, consider the American frontier. Until very recently, Americans always had more land to develop. If Daniel Boone didn't have enough elbow room in Pennsylvania, he could move on to North Carolina; if the Yadkin Valley was too small for him, he could explore Kentucky and Tennessee and Missouri; it is thought that he may have penetrated as far west as Yellowstone. The existence of the frontier, the lure of greener grass, the urge to push toward yet unseen horizons, made Americans a restless race; the conflicts with Indians and with other restless wanderers like themselves made Americans two-fisted and bold. Then, suddenly, the frontiers were no more; westering was at an end; the Pacific blocked the way; the unclaimed land had been claimed; roads and telephone wires traversed the countryside. We have not yet recovered from the shock. We are only beginning to translate our westering impulse to nongeographical purposes: to the frontiers of science and technology, and to experimentation in art and music and literature. How far we can go in these directions no one can predict; young people need to have these pointed out as the new frontiers, no less exciting than the physical conquest of prairie and mountain. The end of physical frontiers has left too many young people at a loss; the youngsters who drive their cars a hundred miles an hour and search for "kicks" from liquor and narcotics might, a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, have been galloping about the country on their horses, fighting Indians, and splitting logs.

Literature, the literature of ideas, is among other things a tool for understanding. The Pittsburgh teachers use it in the tenth grade to develop an understanding, as I have said, of universal concerns, of what makes man tick, of what distinguishes man from the lower animals. Then, in the eleventh grade, they are asking, in effect, "What is an American? How does an American's concern with the universals differ from the concerns of a Central African, a Chinese, a Frenchman?" They thus place American ideas in relation to something else. America is not glorified or condemned; it is examined objectively through the eyes of gifted men and women who have observed keenly and reported clearly and often dramatically.

Just a word about the Pittsburgh twelfth grade program. In the tenth grade, little attention is given to literary form; somewhat more is given it in the eleventh grade; and the twelfth grade, which has English literature as its subject matter, stresses literary art forms, genres, and techniques. Less emphasis appears in grade 12 on universal concerns, but the modifications of these concerns by British cultural patterns still gets considerable time.

In the September, 1964, *PMLA*, Erwin Steinberg, director of the Carnegie Tech project, summarizes the theory behind their literature study in these words:

> As a working definition of literature, we agreed that "literature is mankind's record, expressed in verbal art form, of what it is like to be alive." We agreed further that the writer of literature deals with universal concerns in every age and every culture, but that he is necessarily affected by the particular time in which he lives and by the particular culture of which he is a member. [2]

As his examples of the universal concerns, Steinberg mentions love, heroism, human weakness, criticism of social institutions or practices, and the search for wisdom. In the eleventh grade, he says,

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[2] Erwin R. Steinberg, "Research on the Teaching of English under Project English," *PMLA*, LXXIX, 4, Part 2 (September, 1964), 57.

> . . . we focus on important aspects of the American character as they are revealed in our literature — such aspects as American Puritanism, the American desire to get ahead in the world, American optimism, and American critical realism.[3]

I believe that the components of the Pittsburgh program are closely related to some of the things that Mr. Hornberger has said in his summary of scholarly activity and especially in his final comments. Some of those comments I want to use as a springboard for a few brief and, of necessity, inadequately developed observations.

Mr. Hornberger concluded his paper by saying, "It is as much our job to prepare Johnny to read *The Education of Henry Adams* as it is to lead Susie into the mazes of *The Sound and the Fury.*" I am sure that Mr. Hornberger would not keep Susie from Henry Adams or Johnny from William Faulkner. His point is that secondary school students should read nonfiction and fiction, drama and poetry. I agree. In some schools the emphasis, I believe, is too heavy on the short story, the play, and the novel, while essays, biographies, travel books, and other nonfiction are largely neglected. I know, as any high school teacher does, that there must be progression in the kind and in the level of difficulty of reading material, and that often fiction provides the best entryway. But no reason exists for virtually eliminating nonfiction from the curriculum.

Let me repeat Mr. Hornberger's closing sentence once more, for another purpose: "It is as much our job to prepare Johnny to read *The Education of Henry Adams* as it is to lead Susie into the mazes of *The Sound and the Fury.*" I am sure that he chose his words with care. He says that it is our job to *prepare* Johnny to read *The Education of Henry Adams,* not that high schools should teach that book. Although *Henry Adams* is taught, at least in excerpts, in some schools, it is a book that requires considerable maturity to grasp more than superficially. Mathematicians and physicists and chemists bloom young; literary appreciators develop more slowly. One must have some years behind him, must have lived richly, to experience richly. I want secondary students to read challenging material, works that will stretch them, but I believe that some schools are now presenting literature that is too mature for most junior and senior high schools. Why should junior high school students read half a dozen Greek plays? Why should senior high school students read much Plato and Sartre and Nietzsche and Henry Adams? If we give them all these things in high school, what do the colleges do for an encore? The high school is still called in some places a preparatory school; that is a good name, because it stresses the role of the high school in preparing students for something beyond, just as Mr. Hornberger did when he used the verb *prepare.* I am not arguing for a diet of literary pap in the high school, but I am opposing the too prevalent view that a student who can read at all can read anything and everything. Let us prepare the student to read Henry Adams, but let us not insist that he read Henry Adams in high school.

In another part of his discussion, Mr. Hornberger referred to scholarly lack of concern about the less "literary" types of contemporary writing. He said that the high school teacher and the teacher of college freshmen are apparently more aware of the "literature of ideas" than is the scholar. I should like to expand this a bit by referring to the large number of excellent articles in magazines, many of which are very suitable for high school reading. *Saturday Review* is perhaps the best example, with its multiplicity of articles on politics, science, education, journalism, the arts, and literature. *Harper's* and *The Atlantic* of course come immediately to everyone's mind. The *New Yorker* profiles are often exceptionally fine biographies. Even the more popular magazines, such as *Life* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* sometimes have excellently written articles that are useful in the classroom. This is living literature, with or without a capital L. Literature is not necessarily something from the dead past; it is something that is happening today. The magazine article is today's essay. Almost nobody writes essays any more (with such blessed exceptions as E. B. White), but a number of good writers write articles. These should not be scorned, and I am happy that an eminent scholar like Mr. Hornberger does not scorn them.

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[3] *Ibid.*

Mr. Hornberger said that high school anthologies give space to articles, essays, and biographies which scholarship tends to ignore. To check that out, I looked at the American literature anthology that crossed my desk most recently – a new one in the series under the general editorship of Edward Gordon of Yale. Here are some of the things I found:

George Percy	from *A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia*
William Bartram	from *Travels*
Alfred Kazin	from the autobiographical *A Walker in the City*
Alexis de Tocqueville	Of Individualism in Democratic Countries
Roger Williams	Letter on the Limits of Freedom
Nathaniel Hawthorne	The Haunted Mind (essay)
William Bradford	The Mayflower Compact
Thomas Jefferson	The Declaration of Independence
William Faulkner	The Nobel Prize Speech
John F. Kennedy	Inaugural Address

John Smith is there, and Anne Bradstreet, John Winthrop and Jonathan Edwards, our old friends Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine, six pages from *The Education of Henry Adams,* about twenty-five pages from Thoreau's *Walden,* a generous sample of Mark Twain's *Old Times on the Mississippi,* E. B. White, Stewart Udall, James Baldwin, and even Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. The point of this long enumeration is that it verifies what Mr. Hornberger said: good anthologies today are not neglecting American ideas, and they do not serve pap. Most of the varieties of literature that he discussed are represented in this particular anthology. Not all of us would care to teach everything in the Gordon anthology, and some of us deplore the continuation of the tendency to teach snippets rather than whole works, but the selection in this anthology and others do illustrate some of the universal concerns of man and some of the peculiarly American concerns.

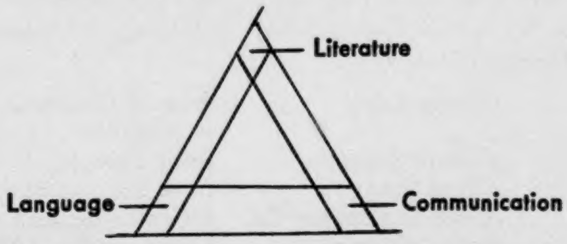
Mr. Hornberger pointed out, without using the word, that fads exist in scholarship. Right now scholars appear, judging from his statistics, to be on a Franklin, Emerson, Thoreau, Adams, and Mencken binge. Perhaps ten or twenty years from now a different five or six writers will be the chief subjects of theses, learned articles, and books. I do not believe that secondary teachers should imitate the scholars and emphasize the writers that the *PMLA* bibliography shows to be most glowingly beautiful to the eyes of scholars today. Although secondary teachers can and should use the findings of scholarship, they need not teach Mencken or Franklin or anyone else unless they honestly believe that Mencken and Franklin have something to say that their students ought to know. Scholars and high school students are, in some respects, light years apart. Scholarship provides a service to the teacher, affords more accurate texts and interpretations, and corrects misconceptions, but only rarely should it greatly influence the high school teacher in his choice of what he is to teach and how he should teach it in his classroom.

In conclusion, I wish only to say that although we have been concerned with American ideas in nonfiction, we all know that fiction, drama, and poetry are not devoid of ideas and often present them in a dramatic way that appeals to young people (and old). The ideal program in American literature is one that presents a variety of genres, from the various periods in our history, without cheating students by the omission of any important type. Mr. Hornberger's paper has reminded us all of some of the wealth available to us in essays, letters, journals, travel books, and biographies.

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

1. Basic Theory

The three areas of the program will be interrelated throughout.



2. Pattern of Emphasis

All basic concepts are dealt with in all years; only the amount of teaching time and the degree of emphasis change. For instance, in the 10th grade literature program, most teaching time will be spent on the universal concern of man, less on modification by culture pattern, and still less on literary art form. In the 12th grade, the emphasis will be reversed.

3. Literature

10th Grade World Literature	Universal concerns of man	M-----------	L----
11th Grade American Literature	U-----------	Modification by culture pattern	L---------
12th Grade English Literature	U------	M-----------	Literary art forms; genres; techniques

4. Communication

10th Grade	Idea: the writer discovers, isolates, defines his message	M-----------	M-----
11th Grade	I-----------	Message sent: the writer puts it into language	M--------
12th Grade	I------	M-----------	Message received: the writer modifies it according to the needs of his reader

5. Language

10th Grade	Structure of the language	S-----------	R-----
11th Grade	S-----------	Semantics: meaning	R--------- --
12th Grade	S------	S-----------	Rhetoric: the effective use of language

III.

American Authors

III.

WALTER HARDING 81
State University College
Geneseo, New York

BETTY HARRELSON PORTER 89
Douglas MacArthur High School
San Antonio, Texas

ARLIN TURNER 95
Duke University

ROBERT E. SHAFER 110
Hunter College
(Formerly Teachers College
Columbia University)

EDMUND REISS 115
Pennsylvania State University

SISTER M. JUDINE, I.H.M. 128
Marian High School
Birmingham, Michigan

HOWARD W. WEBB, JR. 134
Southern Illinois University

FRANK H. TOWNSEND 144
Lake Forest High School
Lake Forest, Illinois

RICHARD P. ADAMS 149
Tulane University

JOHN N. TERREY 157
Tacoma Community College
Tacoma, Washington

Recent Scholarship on Emerson and Thoreau

Walter Harding

Back in 1845, when Ralph Waldo Emerson was asked to lecture at Middlebury College in Middlebury, Vermont, it was discovered that the only hall on the campus large enough to hold the crowd of students who wished to hear him was the college chapel and so his lecture was delivered from a pulpit. The moment it was finished, the orthodox college chaplain, shocked by Emerson's heresies, climbed up on to the platform and, announcing that he would close the meeting with a benediction, prayed, "We beseech Thee, O Lord, to deliver us from ever hearing such Transcendental nonsense as we have just listened to from this sacred desk."

But despite the chaplain's prayer, the "Transcendental nonsense" of Emerson and of his friends has persisted on the college campuses and in the schools of our country – and, I might add – of the world until now, more than a century later, it is heard there more frequently and with greater authority than it ever was in Emerson's lifetime.

Unfortunately, while it is widely agreed that Transcendentalism is one of the most important, one of the most vital movements in American literature, it is one of the most difficult to present clearly and succinctly to the beginning student. I recall my own high school teacher of American literature announcing hopelessly the first day that we took up the movement that even the word *Transcendentalism* could not be clearly defined let alone the movement, and although I do not approve of the fact that she dropped the matter there, I must admit I understand why she thus gave up. Even Emerson himself, on numerous occasions, found himself hard put to it to define the term, and when Thoreau once was asked what he meant when he offered to lecture on Transcendentalism, he confessed it would seem probably nothing more than "moonshine" to his audience.

Fortunately, however, in the past decade or so there has been a real renaissance of scholarly study on the field of American Transcendentalism, and we are gradually being provided with a wealth of tools that should help us to give our students a clear understanding and appreciation of the movement. Not all the tools we need have yet been fully provided, but we are making good progress, and at least some of the important gaps not yet filled show promise of being filled in the not too distant future. It is with these tools, present, promised, or lacking, that I have been asked to be concerned in this paper, rather than the actual defining of Transcendentalism, so I shall get down to the subject at hand without further ado.

First, let us turn to the movement as a whole. Unfortunately we immediately run into the biggest and most important gap in the available scholarship. There is simply no adequate history of Transcendentalism available. Octavius Brooks Frothingham, one of the minor members of the movement itself, did make an attempt and in 1876 published *Transcendentalism in New England: A History*, but its utter inadequacy is well indicated by the fact that in the entire volume Henry David Thoreau is mentioned only once and then only in a passing reference. Frothingham's book does give some good background material, and I am very happy that after being out of print for many, many years and fetching fantastic prices on the rare book market, it is now available in a paperback reprint.[1] Despite its inadequacies, it is a volume that every student of

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[1] (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1959).

Transcendentalism should read through at least once. But some day soon I hope some good scholar will present us with a real history of the movement. He will be doing yeoman's service for the cause of American literature, and we will all be grateful to him for it.

Although we lack a real history of the movement, we have a number of volumes on Transcendentalism that should not be ignored. First and foremost is F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance.*[2] It is not easy reading. Matthiessen unfortunately never mastered the art of writing simple, straightforward prose, but I know of no more important book in the history of American literary criticism. Published nearly a quarter of a century ago, it is still unquestionably the most masterly critical study of the literary techniques of the leading Transcendentalists, particularly Emerson and Thoreau, and although it has spawned dozens of imitations, none have reached its heights. If you want to understand and value properly the organic theory of literature, Transcendentalism's major contribution to American literary theory, this is the book you still must turn to.

I should however also like to at least mention the various essays by Richard P. Adams on the organic form in American literature. These have appeared scattered through various periodicals over the past fifteen years and require some searching out, but since they are lucidly written and cogent studies of the subject, they are decidedly worth the effort. I hope that Mr. Adams will eventually complete the series and gather them together in a handy volume.

Perry Miller's *The Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, 1950) provides us with the first anthology of the major writings of the period, a pastiche welded together into a unified volume as only Perry Miller could do it.[3] Wisely, because they were readily available elsewhere, he omitted for the most part the writings of Emerson and Thoreau and concentrated on the works of the lesser figures. Its one flaw, as I see it, is that he, through his own interest in the subject, concentrated unduly on the theological side of Transcendentalism at the expense of other facets. But when he revised the volume for its paperback edition, *The American Transcendentals,* he eliminated that overemphasis and produced a much more rounded and, to my mind, better book.[4]

There are three other books on the movement that should be mentioned briefly. Van Wyck Brooks' *The Flowering of New England* still gives a pleasant though overly genteel picture of the times.[5] But it at least makes the period and its people come alive. Harold Clarke Goddard's pioneer *Studies in New England Transcendentalism,* privately printed in a limited edition in 1908, has recently been made available in a reprint edition and is still worth looking at for some insights into the intellectual nature of the movement and its sources.[6] And the little *Essay on Transcendentalism,* published anonymously in Boston in 1842, but probably written by one Charles Mayo Ellis, is available once more after all these years in a reprint edition.[7] It is as brief and clear a definition of the central beliefs of the Transcendentalists as I know.

I must speak of one more piece of work – that of Kenneth Walter Cameron, who in seven massive volumes of *The Transcendentalists and Minerva*[8] and *The Transcendental Climate,*[9] and in *Emerson, Thoreau and Concord in Early Newspapers*[10] has gathered together a tremendous accumulation of primary source material, some important, some trivial. Exceedingly valuable in them are such things as the complete records of the Concord Lyceum and the records of Thoreau's and Emerson's book withdrawals from various libraries. Unfortunately the books have been issued in very limited editions and at prices beyond the reach of not only most individuals but of most libraries. But then, since the books are of more interest and value to the professional researcher than the general student, perhaps that is not important and it apparently has been the only feasible method of production. We are at any rate grateful to Professor Cameron for all the effort that has gone into them.

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[2] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941).

[3] (Reissued; Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher).

[4] (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Anchor Books, 1957).

[5] (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1936).

[6] (New York: Hillary House Publishers Ltd., 1960).

[7] (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1954).

[8] (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1958).

[9] (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1963).

[10] (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1958).

So much for the movement as a whole. Now let us turn to some of the individuals in it.

First, Ralph Waldo Emerson. We are exceedingly fortunate in having not one, but two excellent biographies, their approaches so absolutely different that they do not duplicate but rather complement each other. The first is Ralph L. Rusk's *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, a massive, scholarly book, filled to the brim with details that enable us to discover virtually what Emerson was doing on almost any specific day of his life.[11] It is not light hammock reading by any means, but if you want to know the facts of Emerson's life here they are, ferreted out by a man who devoted his life to the study of Emerson's biography. The other book is Stephen Whicher's brilliant little *Freedom and Fate*,[12] which discusses the growth of Emerson's thought and mind, tracing the changing pattern of his thoughts and ideas, bravely admitting that Emerson had stopped developing by the age of forty-five or so, and bringing his book to a close at 1850, thirty years before Emerson died. It is a brief book, but it is a brilliant one and one that you cannot afford to ignore if you wish to understand Emerson's thought.

I spoke earlier of our current renaissance of scholarly study of Transcendentalism and nowhere is this more evident than in the textual work on Emerson. First there was Ralph Rusk's tremendous six-volume collection of Emerson's unpublished letters.[13] It was the earliest of the major modern editions of American literary correspondence and set a high standard for the rest to follow. Not only does it provide us with completely reliable texts of Emerson's letters, but it is so thoroughly annotated and indexed that it is an invaluable reference book for all sorts of information on the period. I understand, incidentally, that Eleanor Tilton is now working on an edition of Emerson's letters that were not available to Rusk or have turned up since, and I hope it will soon be published.

In progress is the massive new edition of Emerson's journals edited by a committee of scholars with William Gilman as chairman.[14] Back in 1910 Emerson's son and grandson together edited a ten-volume selection from the journals, but scholars have long realized that that edition was both far from complete and edited on standards long since discarded. The new edition, of which the first four of a projected fifteen or more volumes have already been published, will be absolutely complete, and attempts to reproduce as closely as possible in type the original manuscript with all its insertions, cancellations, abbreviations, and so on. It is not an edition for the general reader, who would undoubtedly be driven stark raving mad by the complicated scholarly apparatus, but it does offer us at last the opportunity of studying the complete journal as Emerson himself wrote it. As important in its own way is the edition, now also in progress, of Emerson's complete lectures. The first of a projected three volumes, edited by Robert Spiller and the late Stephen Whicher, has already appeared.[15] Now with the new edition of the journal and this of the lectures, we can easily trace the genesis of many of Emerson's essays and add much to our understanding and explication of the finished products.

Unfortunately Emerson's collected works have not been edited since the centennial edition of more than half a century ago. The notes to that edition, compiled by Emerson's son and grandson, are interesting and enlightening, but because much has been learned in the intervening years, there is great need for a new edition. Fortunately there are, I understand, plans underway for just such a new edition under the aegis of the Modern Language Association's new Center for Editions of American Authors. But the plans are only in the embryo stage, and it is bound to be a number of years before even the first volume in the projected edition appears.

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[11] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, 1957).

[12] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, 1957).

[13] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

[14] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960ff).

[15] *The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1833-1836* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959ff).

There are many editions of Emerson's best known essays and poems available in print for classroom use today. The Modern Library College Edition is, I suppose, the most comprehensive of the inexpensive editions,[16] but I would like to single out the Riverside Edition, edited by Stephen Whicher for particular mention.[17] Using the pastiche method that Perry Miller perfected, Whicher created a comprehensive picture of Emerson's intellectual development by welding together his most important essays and poems with a connective tissue of excerpts from his letters and journals and a running commentary. It is not of much use in the classroom unless you are willing to devote a healthy-sized section of your course to Emerson, for it pretty much demands being read in its entirety. But if you can spare that much time for Emerson, it is unquestionably the volume to use.

Critical essays on Emerson have been pouring from the presses in such numbers that it is impossible to try to cover them here. Of the book-length works probably the most important are Sherman Paul's *Emerson's Angle of Vision*[18] and Vivian Hopkins' *Spires of Form: A Study of Emerson's Aesthetic Theory.*[19] Neither one is for the beginner, but the classroom teacher should find either or both stimulating analyses of Emerson's works. Stephen Whicher and Milton Konvitz, in *Emerson: A Collection of Critical Essays,* have provided a handy collection of some of the best critical essays on Emerson in this century by such figures as Robert Frost, William James, John Dewey, George Santayana, Norman Foerster, and Perry Miller.[20]

A word should be said for the *Emerson Society Quarterly,* now in its thirty-seventh number.[21] This massive accumulation of material pertaining not only to Emerson but to all his associates has been produced single-handedly by Kenneth Walter Cameron. Most of it is of interest only to the extreme specialist. Little selection has been exercised in the editing of it. But buried in this vast mass are a good many exceedingly important documents that are of great usefulness to the specialized scholar, a great many beautifully reproduced photographs of Emerson and his contemporaries, and other appropriate illustrations that will add much of interest to your classroom. Special mention must also be made of issue No. 10 (1958) which contains a series of ten essays by classroom teachers telling of their experiences, their techniques, their successes, and their failures in teaching Emerson to their students. This is the first of a series of such essays, each devoted to the teaching of a major American figure, and I personally have found the whole series extremely stimulating. Professor Cameron, indefagitable worker that he is, has also issued several other volumes among them, *Emerson the Essayist,*[22] which are of value primarily to the Emerson specialist and not the classroom teacher of Emerson.

Finally, as a guide to all this Emerson scholarship, there is first Floyd Stovall's fifty-three page bibliographical essay in *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and*

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[16] *The Selected Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* intro. Brooks Atkinson (New York: Modern Library, MLCE — T14).

[17] *Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson,* ed. Stephen Whicher (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Edition — A13).

[18] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

[19] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

[20] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall., 1962).

[21] Available from P.O. Box 1080, Hartford 1, Connecticut, at $5.00 per year.

[22] (Raleigh, N.C.: Thistle Press, 1945).

Criticism[23] and on a larger and more detailed scale, Frederic I. Carpenter's *Emerson Handbook.*[24] This latter I would like to particularly recommend as the best comprehensive survey of Emerson scholarship.

Now let us turn to Henry David Thoreau. We are not nearly as well off with Thoreau biography as we are with Emerson. Canby's *Thoreau* is the nearest thing we have to a standard biography, but it was carelessly written and makes some egregious errors in both fact and interpretation.[25] Henry Salt's *The Life of Henry David Thoreau* (London, 1890) is much, much better so far as interpretation is concerned, but is of course hopelessly outdated so far as factual material is concerned. Milton Meltzer and I have edited *A Thoreau Profile,* which brings together some two hundred and fifty illustrations of Thoreau and his times accompanied by a running biographical commentary by Thoreau himself and his friends.[26] In *Thoreau: Man of Concord* I have gathered together some hundred and fifty firsthand commentaries on Thoreau the man.[27] It was intended primarily to be a controlled research project to give the student some idea of the problems of literary biography. At the moment I am engaged in writing a new biography of Thoreau. I hope that it will at least partially fill the real gap in Thoreau biography.

As for textual work on Thoreau – Carl Bode has issued the *Collected Poetry of Thoreau,* which was the first variorum edition of an American poet.[28] Thoreau's poetry is not his best work, but here at least is a very carefully edited and annotated edition of what there is. Carl Bode and I have together edited *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau,* which gathers together and annotates not only all the known letters of Thoreau, but also those written to him.[29] The only attempt at a comprehensively annotated edition of any of Thoreau's major works is my own *Variorum Walden,* now available in a paperback edition, which provides *Walden* with more than 800 annotations, both textual and editorial.[30] But special mention should be made of Larzer Ziff's edition of *Thoreau's Walden* which he subtitles "A Writer's Edition" and in which he uses *Walden* as a rhetoric textbook – a unique and rewarding approach.[31] My own *Henry Thoreau's "Walden" and "Civil Disobedience": A Study Guide* aims to guide both teacher and pupil through Thoreau's two most discussed works by a series of questions, an analysis of the work as a whole, and a brief anthology of critical essays.[32]

The last comprehensive edition of Thoreau's writings was the Walden or Manuscript Edition of twenty volumes (Boston, 1906), including fourteen volumes of the journal.[33] Most of that edition has been out of print for years, and is so rare that few libraries have it, but fortunately, though, the journal volumes were reprinted separately in 1949 and again in 1963. There have been a few minor additions to the Thoreau canon since then, the most important of which is the so-called "lost journal" which Perry Miller edited as *Consciousness in Concord.*[34] There is obvious need for a whole new edition of Thoreau edited according to present-day standards, and happily plans for just such an edition are well underway, again under the aegis of the Modern Language Association's new Center for Editions of American Authors – although again it will be several years, at the very minimum if all goes well with it, before volumes of this projected edition begin appearing.

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[23] Ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: New York University Press, 1956; also New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1962).

[24] (New York: Hendricks House, 1953).

[25] (Boston: Beacon Press, 1939, 1943; also Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher).

[26] (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1962).

[27] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960).

[28] (Chicago, 1943; also Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964).

[29] (New York: New York University Press, 1958).

[30] (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963).

[31] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961).

[32] (Bound Brook, N.J.: Shelley Press, 1962).

[33] Ed. F. H. Allen and B. Torrey (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1906, 1927, 1949).

[34] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958).

As with Emerson, there are numerous inexpensive editions of Thoreau's major writings available for classroom use. The Modern Library Edition is the most inclusive, although it is marred by an excessivevly large number of misprints. [35] Of the other editions, no single one seems to stand out particularly.

To an even greater extent than with Emerson, critical essays on Thoreau seem to appear in an unending flood. Of the book-length studies, Sherman Paul's *Shores of America: Thoreau's Inward Explorations* is unquestionably the most important. [36] Unfortunately it is written in a turgid style that will discourage many a reader, and for some reason it completely ignores Thoreau's interest in and involvement in the reform movement of his day. But despite these flaws, it is nonetheless a most profound study of Thoreau's thought. Much easier to read is Leo Stoller's provocative little volume *After Walden* which, even though I find myself disagreeing with many of its conclusions, I find very stimulating. [37] And I would strongly recommend that before trying to teach *Walden* again, no matter how many times they have taught it in the past, teachers should by all means read J. Lyndon Shanley's *The Making of Walden*, one of the best pieces of literary detective work in recent years, demonstrating just how Thoreau wrote *Walden*. [38] Not only is it valuable for the insight it gives into Thoreau's construction of his masterpiece, but it is enlightening reading for the beginning student, making him aware of the unending effort that a great writer like Thoreau puts into the creation of a literary masterwork. There are three collections of critical essays on Thoreau. Sherman Paul's *Thoreau: A Collection of Critical Essays* collects a number of this century's more important works including ones by Yeats, Matthiessen, Lewis Mumford, and Max Lerner. [39] Lauriat Lane's *Approaches to Walden* concentrates entirely on varying critical approaches to *Walden*, and includes essays by E. B. White, Howells, Whitman, and Joseph Wood Krutch. [40] My own *Thoreau: A Century of Criticism* includes essays by Emerson, Stevenson, Lowell, Sinclair Lewis, and Henry Miller. [41] The three duplicate each other very little.

One very helpful little tool which unfortunately was issued privately printed in a limited edition and now is almost impossible to obtain is Robert Stowell's *Thoreau Gazeteer*. [42] It is a collection of maps of Thoreau's Concord and of all his various excursions with full explanatory notes. Mr. Stowell has been out of the country for several years, but I hope that when he returns he can be persuaded to bring it back into print. Another helpful volume is Stephen Sherwin and Richard Reynold's *Word-Index to Walden*, a concordance carried to the nth degree, which is useful in tracing ideas or images through the book or locating immediately any quotation. [43] Similar, but less comprehensive is Joseph Jones' *Index to Walden*. [44]

Like the Emerson Society, the Thoreau Society provides a wealth of material, though unlike the Emerson Society its materials are aimed at the enthusiast as well as the specialist. It maintains a small quarterly bulletin (the current one is No. 88) which includes a running bibliography of new Thoreau material, and it publishes occasional booklets; the most recent, No. 20, is a facsimile reproduction of a Thoreau family scrapbook. [45]

I should also point out that Emerson Society Quarterly #18 (1960) contains a helpful series of essays on the teaching of Thoreau in the classroom similar to the previously mentioned series on Emerson. [46]

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[35] *Walden and Other Writings*, ed. Brooks Atkinson (New York: Modern Library, MLCE — T35).

[36] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958).

[37] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957).

[38] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[39] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962).

[40] (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1961).

[41] (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1954).

[42] (Calais, Vt.: Poor Farm Press, 1945).

[43] (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1960).

[44] (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955).

[45] For information, write Walter Harding, Secretary, Thoreau Society, New York State University College, Geneseo, New York.

Finally, as with Emerson, there are two guides through this welter of scholarship. First there is Lewis Leary's fifty-four page bibliographical essay in the *Eight American Authors* volume, [47] and then on a larger and more detailed scale there is my own *Thoreau Handbook*, now available in a paperback. [48]

Now for a few of the lesser Transcendentalists. The best biography of Bronson Alcott is still Odell Shepard's magnificent *Pedlar's Progress.* [49] Shepard has also edited an interesting volume of selections from Alcott's *Journals,* [50] and I have gathered together some of his pedagogical writings in *Bronson Alcott's Essays on Education.* [51] Although Alcott's writings, I must admit, are generally pretty bad (he was a conversationalist, not a writer), I think a clever editor could compile a pretty useful little volume of selections from his scattered books and essays and perhaps do something to help restore his reputation.

Although a surprisingly large number of books on Margaret Fuller have appeared over the years — surprising considering how little she is read today — the most recent, to my mind, is the best. It is the last book Perry Miller edited before his untimely death, *Margaret Fuller: American Romantic,* [52] another one of his pastiches of selections and commentary that provides at one and the same time a vivid biography — almost autobiography — and an excellent selection from her writings. I have hopes that it may raise her somewhat in our American literary pantheon.

There have also been a number of good biographies recently of some of the minor figures. I shall mention only a few. Anna Mary Wells' *Dear Preceptor* at last gives Thomas Wentworth Higginson the attention he has long deserved. [53] Higginson, granted, was not one of the major creative figures among the Transcendentalists, but he had an important critical influence. Not only did he discover Emily Dickinson, but he did much to keep alive the reputation of Thoreau in the late nineteenth century. Professor Wells's biography is not only an authoritative piece of work, but it is also pleasant reading. F. DeWolfe Miller's little *Christopher Pearse Cranch and His Caricatures of New England Transcendentalism* is too brief to tell us much about Cranch, but Cranch's caricatures of Emerson's essays reproduced in the volume are absolutely delightful and I find add a pleasant, light touch when taken into the classroom. [54] W. S. Tryon's *Parnassus Corner* is a good solid biography of James T. Fields, the publisher of many of the most important literary works of the Transcendentalists and so helps provide a good background on the period. [55] And a volume that I find my students invariably enjoy is Louise Hall Tharp's *Peabody Sisters of Salem.* [56] With its studies of Elizabeth Peabody, Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, and Mary Peabody Mann, it helps to recreate in the minds of the students some of the intellectual excitement of the Transcendentalist period.

What conclusions can we draw from this great mass of new material available? How can we benefit from its use? How does it change our picture of the Transcendentalists?

First, the new biographical material available now, I believe, helps to make the individual Transcendentalists more alive. The earlier biographies tended to place these men upon such high pedestals, to so idealize them that the student often could not help but feel they were little more than mid-Victorian stuffed shirts and therefore had nothing to say to us in the twentieth century. Now we can readily demonstrate that they were perfectly human beings with their personal strengths and weaknesses, who faced many of the same problems we face today and who searched and often found solutions that are still remarkably valid. Emerson, in his "Divinity School Address," complained that some clergymen gave the impression that they had never laughed nor wept, were never married nor been in love, had never been commended, cheated, or chagrined. In the past I am afraid that many students got the same impression of the Transcendentalists themselves, but that no longer need be true.

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[46] See footnote 21, p. 84.
[47] See footnote 23, p. 85.
[48] (New York: New York University Press, 1959).
[49] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937).
[50] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937).
[51] (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1960).
[52] (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1963).
[53] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963).
[54] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).
[55] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963).
[56] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950).

Second, I have always found the interest of students aroused by the problems the creative writer faces, and I know of no better opportunity to take advantage of that interest than through such works as the new editions of Emerson's journals and lectures and Shanley's *The Making of Walden.*[57] Here we can trace the ideas of Emerson and Thoreau from their very inception, through various stages of development in their journals, lectures, and periodical essays to their final form in their published books. The reworkings and revisions and revisions and reworkings that we can see there are invaluable in giving the student an idea of the amount of labor that the creative artist puts into his work before he is satisfied with it, and the earlier workings often give us special insights into the author's intent in the finished work.

Third and somewhat closely related to my second point is that the various studies of the organic theory of literature have shed much light on our understanding of the Transcendentalist movement. The organic theory is at the very heart of the Transcendentalist philosophy, and yet it is only through the work of Matthiessen and Richard Adams and a few others that we have really become aware of the importance of the organic theory. I would strongly urge all of you who have not done so to read the work of these two scholars.

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[57] See footnote 38, p. 86.

Emerson and Thoreau: Implications for School Programs

Betty Harrelson Porter

Not until one hundred years after Henry David Thoreau chose to pursue a literary career was his greatness as an *artist* fully analyzed by F. O. Matthiessen in *American Renaissance*. Matthiessen linked Thoreau to a literary tradition from his contemporaries to D. H. Lawrence, Yeats, Hemingway, and Eliot. In his essay on "Teaching Thoreau," John C. Broderick states that the "Shanley, Miller, Hovde studies have made plain the fact that Thoreau's writing is *made*, that its author is a craftsman seeking particular effects; . . . the gain for such studies is evidence for the classroom that (in Miller's words) '*Walden* is not the transcript of an adventure in primitive living, but a highly schematized pattern of words,' designed to become 'a thing of beauty'."[1] This and other recent scholarship and criticism which are significant for the high school teacher emphasize the literary value of the writings of both Thoreau and Emerson.

This stress "on the literary work of art" deemphasizes the biographical approach. Robert P. Cobb, in his essay on teaching Thoreau, commented that "The dramatic impact of Thoreau's Walden experiment makes it difficult to separate the study of the man from the study of his work . . . Thirty years ago there would have seemed a little necessity for doing so. Today, however, we are all sufficiently influenced or intimidated by the New Criticism to minimize the biographical aspects of literature lest we be charged with moralizing or with ignoring the texts themselves."[2] Furthermore, the history of ideas is approached through the literature, especially through the literary form, not by stressing preconceived characteristics of the period. According to Leo Marx in "*Walden* as Transcendental Pastoral," "Few books lend themselves so well to close reading; . . . one gets nowhere merely by *telling* students what Thoreau's method is; somehow one must put them in a position to discover the method back of the words on the page. They must see how the theory shapes the writing."[3]

This literary emphasis will perhaps change the traditional and accepted ideas of what works by Emerson and Thoreau are taught and of how much of each author's work is taught. Close reading of the text implies that detailed analysis of fewer works is often preferable. No longer is one of the goals in high school literature courses to cover the entire anthology; rather the national trend is toward selection (often of paperbacks) for more effective mastery of critical reading skills and away from teaching *about* the literature through biography and literary history. Mortimer J. Adler in *How to Read a Book* says no one really reads much besides love letters, which they read over and over, word by word and sentence by sentence, and even read between the lines. In *Walden*, Thoreau compares reading to an athletic exercise. He further challenges the reader to read and reread for different levels of meaning in his letter to Emerson on July 8, 1843: "In writing conversation should be folded many times thick."

Emerson's poems are adequate for teaching a good idea of style and Transcendental thought, though not organic form. If time allows, perhaps one Emerson essay, such as "The American Scholar," "Self-Reliance," "Compensation," or "Nature" may be taught. Of the writers who commented on student interest and preference, all have pointed to

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[1] *Emerson Society Quarterly*, 18 (1960).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

Thoreau. Some students think that he is more specific and down to earth than Emerson and that after Emerson, Thoreau is easy. According to Lewis Leary in "Thoreau," *Eight American Authors,* "Mark Van Doren praised Thoreau's 'genius for the specific' . . . which allowed him to avoid the fatal lure of generalization which attracted Emerson." [4] Since *Walden* is the literary work for which Thoreau received greater acclaim as the artist, the question is whether to teach part or all of it. Close analysis of a part seems justifiable, though the whole book is not beyond high school students. If the teacher determines not to teach the whole of *Walden,* he is making an important decision because his students may never return to it again. Indeed, consideration may be given to reserving valuable class time for only those works which students cannot read by themselves. Leo A. Bressler in a most interesting article, "*Walden,* Neglected American Classic," makes a convincing plea for teaching all of the book. [5] He contends that it is "A curious paradox that *Walden,* one of the most American of books, is so seldom taught in American high schools." If it is taught at all, it is usually in the form of fragments giving "vague and distorted" impressions of Thoreau "as a kind of nineteenth century Nature Boy, a crank who managed to live on a few cents a day, a hermit who couldn't get along with his fellow man." By comparing its length to that of *Silas Marner, Macbeth,* and other works widely taught, he dismisses as invalid the objection that *Walden* is too long. He discusses its appeal to youth on the matter of conformity; he quotes Thoreau's cutting statement, "The Head Monkey in Paris puts on a traveller's cap, and all the monkeys in America do the same." He believes youth will applaud Thoreau's appeal that "each one be very careful to find out and pursue his own way, and not his father's or his mother's or his neighbor's instead." The *Portland English Curriculum Guide* indicates that if time does not permit teaching the whole book, most of the chapters *can* be read independently and lists these suggestions: "Economy" alone or with "Where I Lived and What I Lived For" and the "Conslusion"; or any one of the following: "Visitors," "The Village," "The Ponds," "Higher Laws," or "Brute Neighbors."

The two authors together, in almost any combination – such as all of *Walden* and two of Emerson's poems; "Economy," two Emerson poems, and several Emerson essays – can establish a basic knowledge of the Transcendental doctrines of organic form, correspondence, compensation, self-reliance, and divinity of the common man. Again, instead of teaching *about* the literature, the inductive approach to these doctrines is preferable to giving the definitions before studying the literature. Emerson's work is especially suitable as the introduction to the Transcendental or romantic literary theory that Thoreau's *Walden* exemplifies and that Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* brings to full bloom in American poetry.

Emerson and the microcosm-macrocosm metaphor (system of correpondence) embody the ideas that man wholly himself is the hero, the self-reliant individual, and the man living wholly in nature. But American man is not whole, just as most American literary forms are not organically produced; instead they represent worn-out European shells for disconnected and separate American experiences and emotions. In the poem "Ode (Inscribed to W. H. Channing)," Emerson suggests the American disunity (not only of the North and South but within New England) in the lack of moral self-knowledge and understanding. Disunity is the failure to see the spiritual in the natural world. Other Emerson poems suitable for this unit are "Hamatreya," "Brahma," "Compensation," and possibly "The Problem."

Although earlier critics commented on the disunity of *Walden,* many modern scholars have disclaimed this point in their proof of the unity of the organic form Thoreau created. Sherman Paul's comment, "The purpose of his [Thoreau's] experiment at Walden Pond was to build an organic life as consciously as he built his hut (and his book). . . . It is a recapitulation of Thoreau's development (the artistic reason he put the experience of two years into one) – a development from the sensuous, active, external (unconscious and out-of-doors) summer of life, through the stages of autumnal consciousness, and the withdrawal inward to the self-reflection of winter, to the promise of ecstatic rebirth in the spring," appears in "Resolution at *Walden*," reprinted in *Interpretations of American Literature*."[6] Walter Harding in *A Thoreau Handbook* points out that "although Thoreau spent two years, two months, and two days at Walden, he has condensed these experiences into one year, and therein lies the chief unity of the book."[7] In Lauriat Lane's essay, "On the Organic Structure of *Walden*" from *Approaches to Walden*, he records that this "Narrative movement . . . . takes the reader through a sequence of time" condensed "for convenience and economy and symbolic purposes . . .; he [Thoreau] retains a basic, linear, chronological pattern. He sometimes expresses this pattern by alluding to the season, sometimes by citing the month and even at critical points the date . . . Thoreau finds organic time embodied everywhere in nature, and on this time he bases his myth of spiritual rebirth."[8] For another unifying element, Lane cites the exposition: "the body of information about the two worlds of man and of nature . . . . Thus, the sections of the book are so arranged as to give us facts in the right expository order, for important expository purposes." For example, he points out the reasons that the introductory section on "Economy" is twice as long as any other section: "some of this information, no doubt, Thoreau intended ironically to answer those pertinent impertinent questions asked him . . . ." He explains the unity of *Walden* in five movements including "The ordered rhetorical appeals" and "the creation of myth," both of which "belong to imaginative prose."

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[4] Floyd Stovall (ed.), *Eight American Authors* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1962).

[5] Leo A. Bressler, "*Walden,* Neglected American Classic," *English Journal,* LI (January, 1962), 14-20.

In developing the organic theory in *Walden*, Thoreau created a new and unique form – not pastoral, not confession, not imaginative prose, not essay – but all of them combined. John C. Broderick in "Teaching Thoreau" names as the first obstacle the "inadequate understanding of the genre in which Thoreau works . . . . There may be some help on the way. Northrop Frye (in *Anatomy of Criticism*[9]) has recently proposed new classifications of prose, including the 'confession.' Though Frye does not name *Walden* as an example, his characterization of the confession fits the book fairly well." Broderick also chances to categorize "that nameless *genre* in which our author writes [as] (the metaphorical essay?)." According to Leo Marx's essay in the *Emerson Society Quarterly*, "Walden is . . . a fine example of a pastoral . . . Indeed one advantage of stressing this theme is that it firmly sets native writing within one of the oldest literary traditions in Western culture. From the time of Virgil, a characteristic symbol of the pastoral ideal has been a landscape, like Thoreau's bean-field, which lies somewhere between advanced civilization and raw nature."[10] Both exposition and imaginative prose were previously cited as unifying elements of *Walden's* organic structure.

In the Thoreau symposium material, Walter Harding states that "Thoreau's humor is a means of expounding his philosophy and not an end in itself" and that because students are taught to read textbooks literally, they "miss the irony of *Walden* and so, in turn, miss the significance of the whole book and all that Thoreau stands for." He points out that one of his students was "denouncing Thoreau as the most bloodthirsty author he had run into in American literature" by giving as evidence Thoreau's bitterly ironic statement, "I felt as if I could spit a Mexican with good relish." Only an incomplete reading of *Walden* can disallow Thoreau's joke on "improving" an Irish neighbor by lecturing him on abstinence from tea, coffee, and meat. The parable's solution for the

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[6] Ed. Charles Feidelson, Jr., and Paul Brodtkorb, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Books, 1959).

[7] (New York: New York University Press, 1959).

[8] (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1961).

[9] (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[10] *Emerson Society Quarterly*, 18 (1960).

Irish problem of Concord asserts the need for spiritual regeneration for moral rebirth. The imperative becomes apparent; teach the craft of this nineteenth century artisan through a close reading of the text as the means of understanding his ideas.

Thoreau's *Walden* is the best available example for teaching nonfictional style in which the ideas are implicit in the form – in all the stylistic devices. Of foremost consideration in Thoreau's own epigraph, now missing from the title page of many editions, "I do not propose to write an ode to dejection, but to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning, if only to wake my neighbors up." Harding, in *A Thoreau Handbook*, quotes John Burroughs, who says, "*Walden* is the most delicious piece of brag in literature."

Equating this exaggerator or "I" of *Walden* with the Henry David Thoreau of Concord, Massachusetts, is a misconception. This speaking voice of *persona* often becomes an obstacle to the student's understanding *Walden's* point of view. Broderick quotes Northrop Frye on this subject: "But even in lyrics and essays the writer is to some extent a fictional hero with a fictional audience." Joseph J. Moldenhauer explains in "The Extravagant Maneuver: Paradox in *Walden*" [11] that "The I of *Walden*, Thoreau as its narrator and hero, is a deliberately created verbal personality." Moldenhauer's elaboration on the "fictional audience" and on Thoreau's created characters ("the hard-featured farmer," "a factory owner," and others) is clear and informative.

Valuable to the high school teacher using this approach to meaning through the study of the language and structure in the explication is Moldenhauer's explicit treatment of the verbal paradox as the dominant stylistic feature of *Walden*: "With all the features of his extravagance – hyperbole, wordplay, paradox, mock-heroic, loaded questions, and the ironic manipulation of cliché, proverb, and allusion – Thoreau urges new perspectives upon his reader . . . as a means of waking his neighbors up."

A guideline for teaching Thoreau's intellectual punning is to illustrate his root use of words and shifts of meaning: "As if you could kill time without injuring eternity"; "There are professors of philosophy, but not philosophers . . . . Yet it is admirable to profess because it was once admirable to live"; and "Much is published, but little is printed." Thoreau characterizes the "luxuriously rich" as being cooked "of course, á la mode." Concurrently, his diction is down to earth: "suck out all the marrow" and "I hoed beans." The tension created by the interplay of learned and homely language is evident in his statement: "always to the limits, trying to get into business and trying to get out of debt, a very ancient slough, called by the Latins *æs alienum*, another's brass, for some of their old coins are made of brass; still living, and dying, and buried by this other's brass; always promising to pay, promising to pay, to-morrow, and dying today, insolvent." Another play on words is found in his "We do not ride the railroad; it rides upon us. Did you ever think what those sleepers are that underlie the railroad?" The sleepers are simultaneously the railroad ties and the exploited workmen. "Some have the pleasure of riding on a rail," but their position changes with the sleeper, "as if this were an exception."

Larzer Ziff in his *Walden: A Writer's Edition* in the section on "Considerations" provides a helpful explanation on Thoreau's use of the symbol:

> Related to Thoreau's practice of maintaining a constant interplay between the literal and the abstract is his method of so handling the image that it takes on added significance and stands not only for what is explicitly illustrated but also for an implied meaning. In such instances, rather than revivifying old words or presenting the abstract through a concrete picture, Thoreau is creating symbols. An example of this occurs in the paragraph, beginning, 'I have always endeavored to acquire strict business habits.' He is talking literally about the way a merchant, say in Salem, Massachusetts, would conduct his import-export business with China.

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[11] *The Graduate Journal* (Austin, Texas), 1964.

> But by calling China by one of its more fanciful names, 'Celestial Empire,' Thoreau alerts the reader to a possible other meaning; and this alertness is rewarded, for as Thoreau progresses into the description of how to conduct trade, one finds the details can be taken in another sense, one which applies to conducting one's spiritual relations with his deity. Thus the business terms in which Thoreau has been detailing his spiritual life throughout this chapter now take on a symbolic significance which they will retain throughout *Walden.*[12]

In his essay "On the Organic Structure of *Walden,*" Lauriat Lane, Jr., comments on "almost two ways of looking at the same literary effect: one, the myth, the content of *Walden's* meaning; one, the rhetoric, the means by which verbal images, symbols, and gestures of the myth come to the reader."[13]

John C. Broderick's doctoral dissertation, as quoted in *A Thoreau Handbook,* states that "A survey of Thoreau's use of related imagery of morning and spring in *Walden* reveals remarkable variety; he has used imagery to criticize contemporary life, to reveal aspects of his theory of expression, to celebrate his aims in life, to emphasize the importance of man's correspondences with nature, and to argue the almost limitless possibilities of individual inspiration and achievement."[14] This quotation indicates the rich possibilities of tracing the images throughout the chapter or book.

Two brief related works may be used as vivid illustrations of the style of writing of Emerson and Thoreau. Mark Twain's satire, "The Whittier Birthday Speech," is a caricature of Emerson, Holmes, Mark Twain, and Whittier as they visit a miner in the West. E. B. White, the Thoreau of modern America, has written many articles which can be used. His best parody to illustrate the style is his "Walden" from *One Man's Meat,* the one that begins with "Miss Nims, take a letter to Henry David Thoreau" and includes:

> On one of the lawns in the outskirts of the village a woman was cutting the grass with a motorized lawnmower. What made me think of you was that the machine had rather got away from her, although she was game enough, and in the brief glimpse I had of the scene it appeared to me that the lawn was mowing the lady. She kept a tight grip on the handles, which throbbed violently with every explosion of the one-cylinder motor, and as she sheared around the bushes and lurched along at a reluctant trot behind her impetuous servant, she looked like a puppy who had grabbed something that was too much for him. Concord hasn't changed much, Henry; the farm implements and the animals still have the upper hand.[15]

A number of textbook editions do have study questions which cause the student to return to the chapter for closer scrutiny of its content. However, if the teacher makes his own questions – this is applicable to class reading-discussion periods also – he should phrase his questions to lead students inductively to the desired conclusions. Do not ask what the poem or chapter is about; rather through a series of questions on the specific symbols, the student can be directed to a generalization.

For teaching the value of revision (of compacting or imbedding ideas and polishing) for both the creative artist and the students, J. Lyndon Shanley's *The Making of Walden* does offer excellent material. It demonstrates Thoreau's construction plan for building the book with a precise reason for placing the sentence, paragraph, and chapter as he did.[16]

In "The Bean-Feld" Thoreau has his own parable of the sower and the seeds. An appropriate conclusion is about another such parable: the College Entrance Examination Board English Institutes of 1962 were sowers of seeds, and nine hundred English teachers over the nation were selected for the implanting. Hopes for potential "germination" were so phrased in an article on the Harvard-CEEB English Institute in *Time* magazine. The flowering includes this method of explication used effectively in teaching various genre – the poem, short story, drama, novel, and essay. The harvested fruit is the dormant students that this challenge awakens.

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[12] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961).

[13] Lane, *op. cit.*

[14] Harding, *op. cit.*

[15] E. B. White, *One Man's Meat* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1944, 1950).

[16] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

Recent Scholarship on Hawthorne and Melville

Arlin Turner

The skeletal facts in literary scholarship have stability and continuity; but the component of interpretation in that scholarship, the emphasis, and the evaluation which serve one generation may not adequately serve another. It is not the works which change, we must remind ourselves, but rather the readers, who at different times come to literature through different approaches and read books with varying purposes, attitudes, and values. A survey of our scholarly treatment of our literary past is in effect a survey of our interests and understandings; for scholarly writing is a way of describing and evaluating ourselves and becomes itself a portion of our cultural history. A survey of this kind can have more meaning if its focus is on major authors of our literature who have been the subjects of extensive scholarly writing, as is true of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville.

There is good reason for yoking Hawthorne and Melville together in such a survey. As friends and neighbors during important months in their careers, as authors alike in some ways, complementary in others, and divergent in still others, they illuminate each other. In addition, they recorded perceptive judgments of each other. There is good reason, moreover, for assessing the accumulated scholarship on these two authors now because the bulk of that scholarship has grown many fold over the past two decades and has been especially stimulated in the recent past by two celebrations: in 1951 the hundredth anniversary of the publication of *Moby Dick* and in 1964 the hundredth anniversary of Hawthorne's death. My purpose in this paper is to look primarily at the work published during the past fifteen years, but the scholarship of earlier years will serve as a basis of reference.

Extensive scholarship on Hawthorne and Melville began about 1930. In the preceding year had appeared critical biographies of Hawthorne by Newton Arvin [1] and of Melville by Lewis Mumford, [2] and in 1932 Randall Stewart's edition of Hawthorne's *American Notebooks* came out. [3] Each biography dealt at full scale with the life and works of its subject and each opened up major problems for study. In returning to the manuscripts for his text of Hawthorne's notebooks, Randall Stewart modified the personality reflected in earlier biographies and cast new light on the working of Hawthorne's creative mind. Following George Edward Woodberry's biography in 1902, [4] there had been published before 1929 only two separate works of any note on Hawthorne, one by Herbert Gorman [5] and another by Lloyd Morris, [6] both in 1927; the only works on Melville had been biographies by Raymond Weaver in 1921 [7] and by John Freeman in 1926. [8]

During the decade of the 1930's the exploratory scholarly work proceeded with a new vigor. This vigor, we may note, was applied in varying degrees also to other

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[1] Newton Arvin, *Hawthorne* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, Inc., 1929).

[2] Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1929; rev. ed., 1962).

[3] Randall Stewart (ed.), *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1932).

[4] George Edward Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1902).

[5] Herbert Gorman, *Hawthorne: A Study in Solitude* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927).

[6] Lloyd Morris, *The Rebellious Puritan* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1927).

[7] Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921).

[8] John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1926).

American authors and was new for them also. The scholarly investigation of Hawthorne and Melville has continued at an accelerating rate, so that today it can be said of each that the main facts of his life and literary career have been recorded; the misinformation and misapprehensions coming down from his lifetime have been mainly dispelled; his relations with the affairs of his time have been determined with reasonable clarity; the canon of his works has been pretty well established; and his works have been interpreted and judged with some thoroughness. These remarks apply more aptly to Hawthorne than to Melville, for with Melville, as I shall be stating later, we need a clearer understanding of his mind and personality, such as may come in part at least from fuller study of what he wrote in the last forty years of his life. Even so, the need has come to be in both instances less for added factual information than for the subtler gains in understanding which will reveal the meanings and the significance of the writings.

Let me note before getting to my subject proper, that the literary scholar today is so much a beneficiary of the paperback revolution that a student of Hawthorne or Melville can provide in paperbacks a fair portion of his working library. It was normally assumed a few years ago that a scholarly treatise would be based on the standard, complete edition of an author's works. Not so today. With Hawthorne and Melville, as with many of our other authors, editions have lagged far behind the scholarship, and the volume most satisfactory for both text and editorial paraphernalia may be a paperback. The procedure may become established of making improved texts available in paperbacks soon after they are in print. At least this procedure has been followed with the revised text of *Billy Budd* which I shall mention later and is to be followed with the definitive editions of Hawthorne and Mark Twain now being prepared.

The scope of the paperback library for Hawthorne and Melville may be suggested as follows: *The Scarlet Letter* is available with introductions by Austin Warren,[9] John C. Gerber,[10] Harry Levin,[11] Leo Marx,[12] Larzer Ziff,[13] and by the joint editors Sculley Bradley, R. C. Beatty, and Hudson Long;[14] *Moby Dick* is available with introductions by Newton Arvin,[15] Leon Howard,[16] William H. Gibson,[17] Alfred Kazin,[18] Charles Feidelson,[19] Maxwell Geismar,[20] and Quentin Anderson.[21] Most of the other works of each author can be bought in paperbacks, often with a choice between editions; and at least half a dozen biographical or critical works on each have been published in paperback. To these books may be added the growing list of general works which appear in paper covers.

Literary scholarship has gained the legacy of the paperbacks through the chances of publication and the marketplace, but in their own editing of literary works, whether to be issued in hard or paper covers, scholars are the responsible agents — relatively so, that is, for they must meet their publishers at least on the borders of the marketplace. And through this editing, the crucial materials for scholarship are put into the hands of scholars.

The journals of Hawthorne and Melville are less important as literary works than those of Thoreau and Emerson, but they furnish biographical information and fill in the backgrounds of the literary works. Hawthorne's notebooks have been available in

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[9] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Rinehart Editions 1, 1947).
[10] (New York: Modern Library, Modern Library College Editions T21, 1950).
[11] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Editions A45, 1960).
[12] (New York: New American Library, Signet Classics, 1959).
[13] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Library of Literature, 1963).
[14] *The Scarlet Letter* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962).
[15] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Rinehart Editions, 1948).
[16] (New York: Modern Library, Modern Library College Editions, T26).
[17] (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc.).
[18] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Editions A9, 1950).
[19] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Library of Literature, 1964).
[20] (New York: Washington Square Press, W228, 1961).
[21] (New York: Collier Books, 1962).

Randall Stewart's excellent editions since 1932 for the American, as has been said, and since 1941 for the English,[22] and a similar edition of the Italian notebooks is being prepared by Norman Holmes Pearson. The journal Melville kept in the Holy Land in 1856 and 1857, and which has a bearing on the later poem *Clarel*, was published in 1935 by Raymond Weaver[23] and was edited anew in 1955 by Howard C. Horsford,[24] who added an introduction and explanatory notes and attempted to correct errors Weaver made in transcribing Melville's difficult handwriting. The hazards of deciphering the handwriting, which plagues all who work with the Melville manuscripts, are attested by the fact that William H. Gilman, likewise a careful Melville student, engaged Mr. Horsford in a published debate over readings of the manuscripts.[25] Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Melville's granddaughter, published in 1948 Melville's journal from a trip to Europe in the years 1849 and 1850.[26]

Scholarship has been well served by the publication in 1960 of *The Letters of Herman Melville*, edited with full annotations by Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman.[27] Of particular interest are the letters Melville wrote to Hawthorne and to others commenting on Hawthorne during the first weeks of their acquaintance in 1850 and 1851, while *Moby Dick* and *The House of Seven Gables* were being written. The long-awaited edition of Hawthorne's letters has not yet appeared. Of the four scholars who undertook the editorial task more than twenty years ago, Manning Hawthorne, Stanley T. Williams, and Randall Stewart withdrew early, leaving the burden of the work on Norman Holmes Pearson. Many of Hawthorne's letters are now in print – in two volumes of *Love Letters* in 1907,[28] in two volumes of letters to his publisher William D. Ticknor in 1910,[29] in biographical works by members of the Hawthorne family, and in miscellaneous other books and articles – but they have been subjected to extremes of revision and expurgation. It is unlikely that the complete letters, when published together, will materially alter the facts or the opinions we now have, but any student of Hawthorne may discover that cumulatively the letters are important to his purpose.

Of all the works by Hawthorne or Melville, *Billy Budd* has presented the greatest textual problems, and it is perhaps the work most urgently needing an accurate text. Since Raymond Weaver discovered the manuscript among Melville's papers and published it in 1924, readers have sought enlightenment from its pages on Melville's thought and outlook in his last years. Most of them have found in it clear enough evidence to satisfy them that, for one group, Melville had finally reached the calm of reconciliation and affirmation, and for the other group, that he was even at the end beset by the same doubts as when he wrote *Mardi, Moby Dick*, and *Pierre*, forty years earlier. That this disagreement remains current is illustrated by an essay R. B. Browne published on the subject in 1963[30] and a rejoinder by Bernard Suits nine months later.[31] The thesis of the Broadway play adapted from *Billy Budd* by Louis O. Coxe and Robert Chapman

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[22] Randall Stewart (ed.), *The English Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1941).

[23] Raymond M. Weaver (ed.), *Journal Up the Straits, October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857* (New York: The Colophon, 1935).

[24] Howard C. Horsford (ed.), *Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955).

[25] *American Literature*, XXVIII (January, 1957), 520-524.

[26] Eleanor Melville Metcalf (ed.), *Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948).

[27] *The Letters of Herman Melville* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960).

[28] *Love Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (2 vols.; Chicago: Society of the Dofobs, 1907).

[29] *Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor, 1851-1864* (2 vols.; Newark, N.J.: Carteret Book Club, 1910).

[30] Ray B. Browne, "*Billy Budd:* Gospel of Democracy," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, XVII (March, 1963), 321-337.

[31] Bernard Suits, "*Billy Budd* and Historical Romance: A Rejoinder," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, XVIII (December, 1963), 288-291.

(which by the way has been printed as a paperback[32]) is that both good and evil exist in man and of necessity destroy each other.

The text of *Billy Budd* has been developed through four stages. Following Raymond Weaver's version of 1924,[33] revised four years later, F. Barron Freeman's version of 1948,[34] and Elizabeth Treeman's revision of Freeman's text in 1953,[35] Harrison Hayford and Merton M. Sealts published in 1962 the result of an informed and careful study of Melville's manuscript and pertinent evidence which exists elsewhere.[36] They produced a reading text, embodying the author's final intentions as nearly as they believe it is possible to determine them. In the same book they printed also a genetic text, which aims to transcribe the manuscript exactly as Melville left it; and they included in the introduction, notes, tables, manuscript facsimiles, and other commentary the chief details of the editorial saga from the discovery of the manuscript to the publication of this volume. They traced in plausible detail the development of the manuscript and in turn the author's evolving intentions and the various sources of his ideas and information. Here is a model of responsible investigation into a difficult work and of lucidity in the presentation of editorial conclusions.

After weighing the evidence, the editors concluded that Melville's latest intentions were to give his book the title *Billy Budd, Sailor (An Inside Narrative)*, to omit the material printed formerly as the Preface, and to change the name of Captain Vere's ship from *Indomitable* to *Bellipotent*. These and many smaller differences from the earlier texts appear in the reading text. In regard to the meaning of *Billy Budd*, the editors point out inconsistencies and ambiguities in the story as Melville left it which seem to argue against any attempt to find a single unequivocal meaning such as has been sought in the book heretofore.

It would be surprising if others acquainted with the manuscript of *Billy Budd* accepted this new text in full, or if those who have puzzled over the author's meaning found much help in the new version. One reviewer of the new edition, Lawrance Thompson, finds the evidence inconclusive for omitting the Preface and says that "many other less important editorial decisions" are reflected in the new reading text which are "equally questionable" and "may raise the eyebrows of Melville scholars for years to come."[37] The controversy over the meaning of *Billy Budd*, Mr. Thompson adds, "may continue without help or hindrance from all the minor jots and titles of emendations thus newly made." In a recent article, John C. Sherwood proposes a source in the French author Alfred de Vigny which he believes suggested the view Melville wanted to present in *Billy Budd*.[38] His opening sentence reads: "That there will ever be even an approximation of agreement on the interpretation of *Billy Budd* is hardly to be expected, given the individualism if not the perversity of modern scholars."

The lack of satisfactory complete editions of major American authors is close to disgraceful, but the signs are hopeful with regard to Hawthorne and Melville. In 1947 Howard P. Vincent published Melville's *Collected Poems*,[39] the first volume of a proposed edition of the complete works to be brought out by Hendricks House. The same publisher has added other volumes: *Piazza Tales*, by E. S. Oliver in 1948 and reprinted in 1962; *Pierre*, by H. A. Murray in 1949; *Moby-Dick* by Luther S. Mansfield and Howard P. Vincent in 1952; *The Confidence Man*, by Elizabeth Foster in 1954; and

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[32] (New York: Hill and Wang, Spotlight Dramabook, 1962).

[33] (London: Constable and Company, 1924).

[34] F. Barron Freeman (ed.), *Melville's Billy Budd* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948).

[35] Elizabeth Treeman, *Corrigenda to Billy Budd* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

[36] Harrison Hayford and Merton M. Sealts (eds.), *Billy Budd, Sailor (An Inside Narrative)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962; also Phoenix P99).

[37] Lawrance Thompson, in *American Literature*, XXXVI (March, 1964), 76-79.

[38] John C. Sherwood, "Vere as Collingwood: A Key to *Billy Budd*," *American Literature*, XXXV (January, 1964), 476-484.

[39] (New York: Hendricks House, 1947).

Clarel, by Walter Bezanson in 1960. Editors have been at work on other volumes, but the edition has met with such difficulties of publication and distribution and there is such variation in the editorial intentions and the levels of performance that the project is being superseded by an edition under new plans, with early completion likely. Meanwhile, the works out in this edition and the Hayford and Sealts edition of *Billy Budd* must be supplemented from the Standard Edition of 1922-1924 [40] or by individual works in separate editions.

Melville's earliest book of poems, *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War*, 1866, had a facsimile printing in 1960 with an introduction by Sidney Kaplan. [41] In 1963 Hennig Cohen published *Battle-Pieces*, together with drawings from *Harper's Weekly* which he believes may have given Melville suggestions for the poems. [42] Mr. Cohen supplies an informative introduction and notes and concludes that the arrangement Melville gave the poems in the volume reflected his progression from an initial view of the war as a struggle between right and wrong, represented by the two regions and the issue of slavery, to a later way of seeing the war in terms of the larger theme of opposition and reconciliation. Mr. Cohen has also edited a book of *Selected Poems of Herman Melville*, 1964, including poems Melville left unpublished at his death. [43]

Although its first volume came off the press only in 1962, a new edition of Nathaniel Hawthorne promises to be complete ahead of the attenuated Melville edition. The Centenary Edition of Hawthorne, being published by the Ohio State University Press, has William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, and Claude M. Simpson as editors, with Fredson Bowers and Matthew J. Bruccoli serving as textual editors. The primary concern in this edition is textual. Besides a short introduction in each volume, which recounts the facts of composition and publication, the remainder of the editorial matter relates to the text. Through extreme care in machine collation and sight collation as required, and through editorial decisions on the basis of manuscripts, printed texts, and external evidence, this edition is intended to produce optimum texts in accordance with the principles being followed. The first volume published, *The Scarlet Letter*, had no significant textual variations to report, but *The Blithedale Romance*, which is bound with *Fanshawe* to make the second volume, contains one passage of about a page and two very short ones which appear in Hawthorne's manuscript but were omitted when the book was printed. These restored passages, which deal with temperance reformers and allude to Zenobia's physical charms, are the same kinds of passages which Hawthorne deleted from several of his stories when he brought them into collected volumes from the magazines or gift books where they first appeared. Such deletions may have been made under the influence of Sophia Hawthorne, who we know cut out similar passages from her husband's notebooks when she prepared them for the press, but Hawthorne might have made any of these deletions on his own account.

There is small likelihood that the Centenary Edition will alter the Hawthorne texts in significant ways, but scholars can have the comfort of knowing that in the production of this edition all or nearly all the textual variants have been found and that the choices between variants have been made by sane heads. Variants of any consequence, furthermore, are recorded in the notes, so that anyone who wishes can make his own choices. The effort being saved by the omission from the Centenary Hawthorne of the critical introductions, the annotations, and the other documentation normally included in scholarly editions makes possible, we can say, greater care in perfecting the text. This is a worthy goal — and other editions may have other goals.

These new editions of Hawthorne and Melville testify that scholarly editing is a thriving activity. But the growing phalanx of editors pursuing textual variants or obscure annotations are balanced by a comparable force of scholars busy in other corners of our vineyard.

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[40] *Melville's Complete Works* (Standard Edition, 16 vols.; London: Constable and Company, 1922-1924).

[41] Sidney Kaplan (ed.), *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War* (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, University of Florida, 1960).

[42] Hennig Cohen (ed.), *The Battle-Pieces of Herman Melville* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1963).

[43] (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books A375, 1964).

The tilling in the other corners, in fact, has been more than might have been expected in the absence of good editions. Another handicap to research has been the lack of bibliographies. No comprehensive bibliography of Melville's work has yet been published, and none of Hawthorne's since that by Nina E. Browne in 1905. The most useful general compilations are in the bibliographical symposium *Eight American Authors*, sponsored by the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association and edited by Floyd Stovall in 1956, in which the essay on Hawthorne is by Walter Blair and that on Melville is by Stanley T. Williams. A supplement by J. Chesley Mathews brings the coverage through 1962.[44] Other useful lists are those in the bibliographical volume of the *Literary History of the United States* and its supplement, extending through 1959.[45] The Melville Society has published bibliographies of Melville at intervals, including a list of Melville dissertations prepared by Tyrus Hillway in 1953.[46] Other restricted lists have been published, such as D. D. Anderson, "Melville Criticism: Past and Present;"[47] Maurice Beebe, Harrison Hayford, and Gordon Roper, "Criticism of Herman Melville: A Selected Checklist."[48] It might be noted in passing that the Autumn, 1962, issue of *Modern Fiction Studies* brings together eight essays for a Melville number.

The scholarship on several aspects of Hawthorne and Melville has fallen off during recent years while increasing in others, often because one area has been exhausted, relatively, for at some points the research has been happily complete, and often because a sort of scholarly faddism shunts interest from one area to another.

A good proportion of the study which earlier was concentrated on Hawthorne's novels has turned recently to his stories and sketches, among which "Young Goodman Brown," "The Artist of the Beautiful," "Roger Malvin's Burial," and "The Prophetic Pictures" are prominent. These shorter pieces furnish variations on the author's major themes, and they display a variety of techniques, structural patterns, and narrative devices. The lesser works have provided both fresh materials for the scholar and a means of testing his findings in the longer works.

An area which has come in for markedly increased attention is Melville's later phase, in which he published short tales and after them three books of poems before writing *Billy Budd* at the end of his life. Scholars a few years back realized that discussion of Melville's life and work reached little beyond the publication of *Moby Dick* in 1851. They noted also that in the biographies and in actuality as well Melville was obscure during his late years and hence presented greater enigmas to be resolved. Such essays as one by Charles G. Hoffman in 1953[49] and the essays Richard H. Fogle began publishing in 1952 and collected in 1960 into the volume *Melville's Shorter Tales*[50] suggested that the tales contain some of Melville's best work and that several of them have special significance in the Melville canon.

The extent to which writing on Melville's tales has accelerated may be suggested by a comparison of the few articles on individual tales which Stanley T. Williams mentioned in his bibliographical essay of 1956 with the list which could be made today. Mr. Williams' prediction that other articles would follow and would touch on all the short fiction has been amply fulfilled. "Benito Cereno" has been classed generally among Melville's best works and has been discussed more often than any other of the tales. An essay by Stanley T. Williams in 1947 was one of the first to note the intricacy and the artistic skill of the story. [51] The titles of two other essays will suggest the chief locus of recent interest in this story: "Masque and Symbol in Melville's 'Benito Cereno'," by Robin Magowan [52] and "The Sources and Symbols of Melville's 'Benito Cereno'," by Max Putzel. [53] "Bartleby the Scrivener" and "I and My Chimney" have elicited next most comment among the stories, with chief attention going to the symbolic, psychological, and possibly autobiographical elements they contain.

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[44] Floyd Stovall (ed.), *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and Criticism* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1956; also, with supplement, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963).

[45] Robert E. Spiller and others (eds.), *Literary History of the United States* (3rd ed.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1964); *Bibliography Supplement* (1959).

[46] Tyrus Hillway, *Doctoral Dissertations on Herman Melville: A Chronological Summary* (Greeley, Colo.: Melville Society, 1953).

[47] D. D. Anderson, "Melville Criticism: Past and Present," *Midwest Quarterly*, II (Winter, 1961), 169-184.

[48] Maurice Beebe, Harrison Hayford, and Gordon Roper, "Criticism of Herman Melville: A Selected Checklist," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VIII (Autumn, 1962), 312-346.

[49] Charles G. Hoffman, "The Shorter Fiction of Herman Melville," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LII (July, 1953), 414-530.

[50] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

William Ellery Sedgwick gave one chapter of his book, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind,* 1944, to the poems, chiefly *Clarel,* [54] and Robert Penn Warren wrote an essay on the poems in 1946. [55] Mr. Warren found that Melville wrote "a poetry of shreds and patches," but added that "many of the patches are of a massy and kingly fabric – no product of the cotton mills." Writing on Melville's poetry in 1955, Laurence Barrett could remark that only a few scholars had concerned themselves with Melville's poetry, [56] but as a matter of fact, since Mr. Warren's essay of 1946, significant articles on the poetry had been published by Nathalia Wright, [57] Newton Arvin, [58] Bruce Berlind, [59] Walter Bezanson, [60] and Alfredo Rizzardo (the last in *Studi Americani,* published in Italy). [61] Since Mr. Barrett wrote in 1955, other substantial articles have been published by N. A. Ault, [62] Darrel Abel, [63] Richard H. Fogle [64] (author of two articles), and Harry E. Hand. [65] Hennig Cohen and Walter Bezanson, editors of *Battle-Pieces* and *Clarel,* already mentioned, point the way to both the intensive study and the higher value which the poems seem likely to have among future students.

The humor in Melville's works has been long in gaining the attention we now readily accord it. The subject was singled out for brief comment by Joseph Jones in 1948 [66] and for further discussion in 1954 in essays by Joseph J. Firebaugh [67] and H. H. Kühnelt. [68] Then in 1955 came Edward H. Rosenberry's book-length study, *Melville and the Comic Spirit.* [69] The humor in Hawthorne has received only slight mention in scholarly works. The major study of the subject we shall have one of these days will have something valuable to say about Hawthorne's mind and personality and also his literary technique.

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[51] Stanley T. Williams, " 'Follow Your Leader': Melville's 'Benito Cereno,' " *Virginia Quarterly Review,* XXIII (Winter, 1947), 61-76.

[52] *College English,* XXIII (February, 1962), 346-351.

[53] *American Literature,* XXXIV (May, 1962), 191-206.

[54] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1944; reissued, New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962).

[55] Robert Penn Warren, "Melville the Poet," *Kenyon Review.* VIII (Spring, 1946), 208-223.

[56] Laurence Barrett, "The Differences in Melville's Poetry," *PMLA,* LXX (September, 1955), 606-623.

[57] Nathalia Wright, "A Source for Melville's *Clarel:* Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine,*" *Modern Language Notes,* LXII (February, 1947), 110-116.

[58] Newton Arvin, "Melville's Shorter Poems," *Partisan Review,* XVI (October, 1949), 1034-1046.

[59] Bruce Berlind, "Notes on Melville's Shorter Poems," *Hopkins Review.* III (Summer, 1950), 24.

[60] Walter Bezanson, "Melville's 'Clarel': The Complex Passion," *ELH,* XXI (June, 1954), 146-159.

[61] Alfredo Rizzardi, "La Poesia di Herman Melville," *Studi Americani,* I (1955), 159-203.

[62] N. A. Ault, "The Sea Imagery in Herman Melville's *Clarel,*" *Research Studies of the State College of Washington,* XXVII (June, 1959), 72-84.

[63] Darrel Abel, "Laurel Twined with Thorn': The Theme of Melville's *Timoleon,*" *Personalist,* XLI (July, 1960), 330-340.

[64] Richard H. Fogle, "Melville's *Clarel:* Doubt and Belief," *Tulane Studies in English,* X (1960), 101-116; "Melville's Poetry," *ibid.,* XII (1963), 81-86.

[65] Harry E. Hand, " 'And War Be Done': *Battle-Pieces* and Other Civil War Poetry of Herman Melville," *Journal of Human Relations,* XI (1963), 326-340.

[66] Joseph Jones, "Melville: A 'Humorist' in 1890," *American Notes and Queries,* VIII (August, 1948), 68.

[67] Joseph J. Firebaugh, "Humorist as Rebel: The Melville of *Typee,*" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* IX (September, 1954), 108-120.

[68] H. H. Kühnelt, "Der Humor in Melville's *Moby-Dick,*" *Anglo-Americana,* LXII (December, 1954), 111-121.

[69] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).

The amount of scholarly effort going into biographical study of Hawthorne and Melville in proportion to that spent on other types of study has greatly decreased in recent years. The standard biography of Hawthorne remains the one Randall Stewart published in 1948.[70] In the same year appeared Robert Cantwell's treatment of Hawthorne's life through the year 1850.[71] These two biographies are different but complementary. Stewart's is compressed, restrained, objective, and it gives Hawthorne an ambience of commonplace affairs. The other, written by a novelist, is scaled four times as large, discursive in portraying Hawthorne's associates and surroundings, and speculative. In the fifteen years preceding these two books, biographical angles were explored in original sources and presented in articles by Manning Hawthorne, Norman Holmes Pearson, and others. These articles and books taken together brought into the record most of the facts about Hawthorne's life that are likely to show up. The chief need and about the only possibility left has been to interpret elements in the biography and to explore the relationships which promise to be rewarding. The relations between Hawthorne and Melville, both personal and literary, have been explored in some degree in all the biographies and in special essays by Harrison Hayford,[72] Henry Bamford Parkes,[73] Edward G. Lueders,[74] Randall Stewart,[75] and James E. Miller, Jr.[76] But there is still room for discovering the full significance this relationship undoubtedly had. Perry Miller's book *The Raven and the Whale,* 1956, traces in some fullness Melville's association with authors and publishers on the New York literary scene.[77] Although Hawthorne's relations with his Concord neighbors, including especially Emerson, Thoreau, and Margaret Fuller, have had considerable attention, there are subtle but no doubt important aspects not yet dealt with adequately. Two books have drawn portraits of Hawthorne's family and others of his close associates: Louise H. Tharp's *The Peabody Sisters of Salem,* 1950,[78] and Vernon Loggins's *The Hawthornes: The Story of Seven Generations of an American Family,* 1951.[79]

Two recent full-scale biographies have added little to the known facts of Hawthorne's life but have offered clearly defined interpretations of the life. Edward Wagenknecht's *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Man and Writer,* 1961,[80] follows Randall Stewart's lead in picturing the novelist as a real man moving in the real world about him. "There was a dark side to him," the concluding paragraph reads, "but he faced the light. If there was a potential Ethan Brand in him or a young Goodman Brown, he watched him and guarded him and strangled him." Hubert H. Hoeltje's *Inward Sky: The Mind and Heart of Nathaniel Hawthorne,* 1962, is detailed and leisurely.[81] The biographer set himself the task of revealing the outward man in the detail of his day-to-day activity and especially the inward man as he can be read in his letters, notebooks, and other writings. Hawthorne's own statements are very often quoted, to achieve the tone desired.

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[70] Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1948; also Y-37, 1962).

[71] Robert Cantwell, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: The American Years* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1948).

[72] Harrison Hayford, "Hawthorne, Melville, and the Sea," *New England Quarterly*, XIX (December, 1946), 435-452; "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," *ELH*, XIII (December, 1946), 299-310.

[73] Henry Bamford Parkes, "Poe, Hawthorne, Melville: An Essay in Sociological Criticism," *Partisan Review*, XVI (February, 1949), 157-165.

[74] Edward G. Lueders, "The Melville-Hawthorne Relationship in *Pierre* and *The Blithedale Romance*," *Western Humanities Review*, IV (August, 1950), 323-324.

[75] Randall Stewart, "Melville and Hawthorne," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LI (July, 1952), 436-446.

[76] James E. Miller, "Hawthorne and Melville: The Unpardonable Sin," *PMLA*, LXX (March, 1955), 91-114.

[77] (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1956; also Harvest HB49, 1962).

[78] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, Inc., 1950).

[79] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

[80] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

[81] (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1962).

The fact that most of these statements are not marked as quotations may be disconcerting, even when the reader realizes they are quoted. The book is avowedly sympathetic, intended to record Hawthorne as he was and to accept the works as they were written, Mr. Hoeltje remarks, without taking the time or assuming the ability to say how they should have been written. The Hawthorne of this biography is characterized consistently by a "deeply joyful affirmation."

Neither of these two latest biographers denies that Hawthorne's probing for man's innermost soul disclosed to him there the blackness which Melville found in the stories, but like Randall Stewart before them, they object to the assumption often made that Hawthorne's own mind and personality can be drawn from his fictional characters.

The standard biography of Melville is likewise some years old – Leon Howard's *Herman Melville,* [82] which is complemented by Jay Leyda's two-volume work, *The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville,* 1819-1891.[83] These works were written in a loose collaboration and were published in the same year, 1951. Mr. Howard's is a fully detailed narrative of the life; Mr. Leyda's accumulates the documents from which the narrative biography is derived. They have in common the purpose of presenting the factual record as exactly as it can be known. A book published in 1953 by Melville's granddaughter, Eleanor Melville Metcalf, *Herman Melville, Cycle and Epicycle,* recounts the biography through letters, reminiscences, and family tradition, adding intimate details not known by earlier biographers. [84] In *Melville As Lecturer,* 1957, Merton M. Sealts tells of Melville's career on the public platform delivering three lectures in 1856 and 1857. [85] In keeping with his grasping for permanence and his skeptical outlook on the world as he knew it, Melville reflected in these lectures the tone and the attitude characteristic of his later years.

The bearing religion had on both authors has appeared often in the scholarship. Austin Warren's introduction to the American Writers Series volume in 1934 [86] implied that Hawthorne's thought took its main contours from Calvinistic theology, but in an essay published in the volume *Rage for Order,* 1948, he made it clear that in his words, Hawthorne was "without faith in Christian creeds or communions" and that the Puritanism of Hawthorne's pages is "freed from its doctrinal precisions." [87] In a book entitled *American Literature and Christian Doctrine,* 1958, Randall Stewart assigns Hawthorne and Melville prominent roles in Calvinistic tradition, which he takes to be a major shaping influence in American history. [88] Lawrance Thompson's book with the title *Melville's Quarrel with God,* 1952, postulates for the Calvinism of Melville's family and his upbringing a major role in the development of his mind. [89] William Braswell had published in 1943 a book on *Melville's Religious Thought.* [90] Catholic interest in Hawthorne's views on the nature and the effects of evil, the unpardonable sin, and similar topics, in a way reciprocating his interest in the Catholic Church, especially as he observed it in Italy, receives its fullest exposition in the Reverend Leonard J. Fick, *The Light Beyond: A Study of Hawthorne's Theology,* 1955. [91]

Substantial works have been published on the popularity of both our authors in their time: Bertha Faust's *Hawthorne's Contemporaneous Reputation: A Study of Literary*

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[82] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951; also Cal 20, 1958).

[83] *1819-1891* (2 vols., New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1951).

[84] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

[85] Merton M. Sealts, *Melville as Lecturer* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957).

[86] Austin Warren (ed.), *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Representative Selections* (New York: American Book Company, American Writers Series, 1934).

[87] Austin Warren, *Rage for Order* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948; also Ann Arbor Books AA6, 1957).

[88] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958).

[89] (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952).

[90] (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1943; also New York: Pageant Books, Inc., 1959).

[91] (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1955).

Opinion in America and England, 1828-64, 1939;[92] and Hugh W. Hetherington's *Melville's Reviewers: British and American, 1846-1891,* 1961.[93] The first of these two is brought forward, though in smaller compass, in two essays in the book of *Hawthorne Centenary Essays, edited by Roy Harvey Pearce in* 1964:[94] "'The Wizard Hand': Hawthorne, 1864-1900," by Edwin H. Cady; and "The Hawthorne Revival," by Seymour L. Gross and Randall Stewart. The same collection includes an essay by Roger Asselineau entitled "Hawthorne Abroad," which treats Hawthorne's attitudes toward Europe, his experiences aboard, and the acceptance of his works in Europe. Another essay in the same volume is Matthew J. Bruccoli's "Hawthorne As a Collector's Item, 1885-1924," a compilation of information which has peripheral interest for the literary scholar.

Mr. Hetherington, in writing on *Melville's Reviewers,* quotes from the famous obituary notice printed in the New York *Tribune* after Melville's death: "He won considerable fame as an author by the publication of a book in 1847 entitled 'Typee.' . . . This was his best work, although he has since written a number of other stories, which were published more for private than public circulation." Starting from this or similar testimony, writers on Melville's reputation have often described the obscurity extending through his late years and into the next century in contrast to the revival he has had since Raymond Weaver's biography appeared in 1921, and they have often overstated the extent of the obscurity. From time to time we have had a reminder that Melville kept a moderate number of readers and a few devoted readers even in the obscurest years. One such reminder is an essay by V. L. O. Chittick in 1955 which notes in particular Melville's following in England.[95]

A good portion of the scholarship on Hawthorne and Melville has concerned the sources in print and in their own experiences and observations from which they drew materials, and their methods of incorporating those materials in finished works. The findings on Melville in this area have been reported in major works, including Merton M. Sealts, "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed," published serially from 1948 to 1950,[96] and several books: Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 1939;[97] Nathalia Wright, *Melville's Use of the Bible,* 1949;[98] Howard Vincent, *The Trying-Out of Moby-Dick,* 1949;[99] H. F. Pommer, *Milton and Melville,* 1950;[100] William H. Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and "Redburn,"* 1951;[101] Merrell R. Davis, *Melville's "Mardi," a Chartless Voyage,* 1952;[102] and Dorothee M. Finkelstein, *Melville's Orienda,* 1961, which explores the influence of the Near East on Melville's writings.[103] A parallel list for Hawthorne would open with Marion Louise Kesselring, *Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850,* published in 1949,[104] and would include an early work, Elizabeth E. Chandler, *A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853,* 1926,[105] and such later works as Randall Stewart's introduction to his edition of the *American Notebooks,* 1932; Jane Lundblad, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and European Literary Tradition,* 1947;[106] William B. Stein,

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[92] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939).

[93] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).

[94] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964).

[95] V. L. O. Chittick, "The Way Back to Melville: Sea-Chart of a Literary Revival," *Southwest Review,* XL (Summer, 1955), 238-248.

[96] Merton M. Sealts, "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed," *Harvard Library Bulletin,* II-IV (Spring, 1948-Winter, 1950), 141-163, 378-392, 119-130, 268-277, 407-421; 98-109.

[97] (New York: Coumbia University Press, 1939).

[98] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1949).

[99] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949).

[100] (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1950).

[101] (New York: New York University Press, 1951).

[102] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952).

[103] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961).

[104] (New York: New York Public Library, 1949).

[105] *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages,* VII (July, 1926), 1-64.

[106] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947).

Hawthorne's Faust: A Study of the Devil Archetype, 1953;[107] and Alfred S. Reid, *The Yellow Ruff and the Scarlet Letter: A Source of Hawthorne's Novel,* 1955.[108] For both authors, but especially for Hawthorne, sources for individual stories, characters, and incidents have been pointed out in separate journal articles.

From unfinished manuscripts they left much has been learned about how the creative minds of both authors worked and about their habits of composition. Edward H. Davidson's careful study of Hawthorne's four fragmentary novels bore fruit in his book *Hawthorne's Last Phase,* 1949,[109] and in a scholarly edition of one of the fragments, *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret,* 1954.[110] In editing *Billy Budd,* Mr. Hayford and Mr. Sealts have similarly recorded what the confused manuscript reveals about Melville's methods of shaping and writing a fictional work.

In recent years, source studies have appeared rarely in the Hawthorne and Melville scholarship. One reason is, of course, that such findings have been so nearly exhausted that a new suggestion may do no more than reinforce or extend an earlier report. Furthermore, we have learned from source studies most of what they can teach us about our authors' interests and reading, and about the ways their artistic creation proceeded. In our greater concern recently for meanings, sources have been called in for a new purpose. Especially in the discussions of *Billy Budd* have probable sources been noted in history and literature for light they may throw on the meaning of the work. Such is the use to which John C. Sherwood puts his suggestion, already mentioned, that Melville owed something to Alfred de Vigny for the character of Captain Vere and the resolution of the action in *Billy Budd.* Similarly, in a recent article Arthur E. Robinson returns to a book which was pointed out much earlier as one of Hawthorne's main sources, Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana,* and bases yet another reading of the story "Young Goodman Brown" on the conclusion that Hawthorne found in Mather the suggestion for giving an ironic meaning to "Goodman" as a title for Brown.[111]

Thus far I have dealt mainly with the achievements in producing texts of the works and in furnishing information on the two authors and their writings. Emphases in these endeavors have changed over the past fifteen years; some areas have been developed, and attention has shifted to different areas, as I have noted; but the broad course has not altered greatly, and the accomplishment has been great. In interpretation and criticism, however, there have been important developments, reflecting the changes in attitudes and approaches which have occurred among the scholars and also within the literary community as a whole.

F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance,* 1941, which numbers Hawthorne and Melville among the authors discussed, placed each firmly in his intellectual and social milieu and submitted his literary work to a close analysis of its various elements.[112] In a two-part article of 1951, Mrs. Q. D. Leavis followed Matthiessen in stressing the relations of Hawthorne to his place and time, and in showing by analysis of several works that they rely heavily on symbolism and other devices normally considered poetic.[113]

But among scholars writing before Mrs. Leavis there had been an awareness that both Melville and Hawthorne wrote a dense, evocative prose, and that complete meanings could not be expected to lie on the surface. It had become clear that both saw things about them as symbols, thought in symbols, and expressed themselves in symbols.

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[107] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953).

[108] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955).

[109] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949).

[110] Edward H. Davidson (ed.), *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954).

[111] Arthur E. Robinson, "The Vision of Goodman Brown: A Source and Interpretation." *American Literature,* XXXV (May, 1963), 218-225.

[112] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941).

[113] Mrs. Q. D. Leavis, "Hawthorne as Poet," *Sewanee Review, LIX* (Spring and Summer, 1951), 179-205, 426-458.

A conjunction of circumstances occurred about 1940 which we can say, oversimplifying for the moment, gave scholarship a new direction in the following years: First, the main facts about the authors and their works had become known; second, they had become recognized as authors worth study just as the number of scholars was greatly increased, both inside and outside graduate schools; and third, the close analytical method applied widely to poetry during the preceding decade was beginning to be applied to the short story and the novel. The works of Hawthorne and Melville proved to have the intricacy of structure, the subtlety and complexity, and the richness of language and meaning required to exercise the critical connoisseurship which Joseph Warren Beach found so challenging to students of Henry James at the same time. As a consequence the works of Hawthorne and Melville were scrutinized for metaphor, image, symbol, and patterns of figurative language, for paradox and ambiguity and irony. The scrutiny produced, for one thing, greater esteem for the authors, and it often enriched the understanding of specific works. The scholars found encouragement for such close study in the knowledge that both authors were devoted artists. At the beginning of his career, they might note, Hawthorne turned away from the novel of adventure, which he found in Sir Walter Scott and wrote himself in his first novel, *Fanshawe;* and Melville protested that he was not willing to go down to posterity as the man who lived among the cannibals.

The earliest of such analytical studies tended to insist on one explicit meaning for a character or an action or a tale. But with the accumulation of private readings, as many of them may be appropriately called, dogmatic interpretations have mellowed, and a willingness has grown to assume the validity of multiple meanings. The traits of mind of both Hawthorne and Melville and their habits of writing suggest a tentativeness if not a playfulness which often would produce a complex of possibilities rather than one absolute reading. On Hawthorne's story "Young Goodman Brown," for example, a series of separate articles have appeared over the last twenty years, offering independent but in a sense cumulative interpretations, and it will surprise me if other modifying or supplementary readings are not offered in the future. It will surprise me also if there is not less and less tendency to propose a new reading as a cancellation of earlier ones. An article of some years ago by William B. Stein, "The Moral Axis of 'Benito Cereno'," makes surprisingly explicit identifications: Captain Cereno with the Catholic Church, for example, and Captain Delano with the Protestant Church.[114] Similarly the earlier attempts to give Ahab and the white whale and the various mates and harpooners specific equivalents have given way to an acknowledgement that it was Melville's habit, no less than Hawthorne's, to open questions, not close them, to reflect skepticism or uncertainty, not to advance precepts for conduct. It must be added, though, that those who read Hawthorne and Melville in terms of Freudian imagery and those who read them in terms of Christian imagery have little tolerance for each other, and any new reading is likely to be advanced as a denial of some other.

Such articles as the one published by W. R. Thompson in 1957 reinterpreting Melville's two-part story "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids," have prepared us to encounter unexpected meanings or levels of meaning in Melville's fiction.[115] Similar probing for a lower level has been conducted with others of Melville's stories, and some of the apparently slight ones have thus gained new weight.

The approach through close analysis has proved adaptable for use in connection with other approaches and has renewed and extended their usefulness. The approach through autobiography is an example. Both authors introduced important segments of their own experiences into their fictional works. The earlier investigations, centering naturally on the more conspicuous instances, produced, among others, Charles R.

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[114] William B. Stein, "The Moral Axis of 'Benito Cereno,' " *Accent, XV* (Summer, 1955), 221-233.

[115] W. R. Thompson, 'The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids': A Reinterpretation," *American Quarterly,* IX (Spring, 1957), 34-45.

Anderson's *Melville in the South Seas,* William H. Gilman's *Melville's Early Life and "Redburn,"* and the studies relating *The Blithedale Romance* to Hawthorne's stay at Brook Farm and *The Marble Faun* to his residence in Italy. With such instances largely explored, scholars have turned to subtler aspects of the authors' relations to their works and have given them new dimensions by observing structure, imagery, and symbolism and by applying principles of psychology to both the author and his characters. The type of approach most common nowadays in studying the autobiographical aspects of a work may be illustrated by a series of articles on Melville's story "I and My Chimney," including articles by Merton M. Sealts,[116] S. C. Woodruff,[117] William J. Sowder,[118] and Darwin T. Turner.[119] Among the autobiographical angles considered in these articles is the possibility that Melville is presenting his own whimsical concern over the threat of insanity and his wife's more sober concern. A major focus in the development of this and other suggestions is the symbolic method and, for one, the possible phallic symbolism incorporated.

Similarly the approach to an author's works through his relations to his society has lent itself to incorporation with the analytical approach. Hawthorne's contemporaries and such later writers as Henry James took account of his station in his society. Those who studied Hawthorne in the 1930's viewed him against the background of his times, and they concluded that he had little part in the outside world and cared little about its problems. One group found this conclusion compatible with the picture of Hawthorne as a gloomy recluse who was aware of those around him only as they might be subjects for his coldly inquiring mind. Another group lamented what they believed to be his lack of concern for the issues that disturbed his contemporaries, his apparent wish to remain a disinterested observer while others busied themselves with urgent reform. This view was fitting enough to some of Hawthorne's characters, such as Coverdale in *The Blithedale Romance,* but it was hardly fitting to the author, as other scholars were able to say convincingly. Writing in 1944 in a book on *Hawthorne: Critic of Society,* Lawrence S. Hall demonstrated that Hawthorne was sensitively aware of his surroundings, that he was zealous in urging reforms to improve the lot of merchant seamen, was in fact a good deal of an equalitarian, and discovered the real world and dealt with it, rather than creating a world to his own liking as, according to Mr. Hall, Emerson and Thoreau and Melville did.[120] In the biography he published in 1948 Randall Stewart expanded Mr. Hall's view to encompass Hawthorne's entire career and portrayed him as going about a commonplace existence not greatly different outwardly from that of his neighbors. Mr. Stewart's intention was to correct the portrait earlier biographers had painted of Hawthorne in shades of night, melancholy, and misanthropy. He fulfilled his intentions well, if not too well, for his Hawthorne of commonplaces seems hardly one to have written *The Scarlet Letter* and "Young Goodman Brown."

With Hawthorne located anew in his time and place, through the efforts of Mr. Hall, Mr. Stewart, and others, and aware of what went on around him, scholars began to look more closely than ever before at the social comment which they had learned appears less often in direct statement in his works than through suggestion and metaphor. In an article on "The Birthmark" by Robert B. Heilman, for example, images and figures are selected from the story and are fitted into a pattern forming a protest against science.[121]

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[116] Merton M. Sealts, "Herman Melville's 'I and My Chimney,'" *American Literature* XIII (May, 1941), 142-154.

[117] Stuart C. Woodruff, "Melville and His Chimney," *PMLA,* LXXV (June, 1960), 283-292.

[118] William J. Sowder, "Melville's 'I and My Chimney,'" *Mississippi Quarterly* XVI (Summer, 1963), 128-145.

[119] Darwin T. Turner, "Smoke from Melville's Chimney," *College Language Association Journal,* VII (December, 1963), 107-113.

[120] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1944).

[121] Robert B. Heilman, "Hawthorne's 'The Birthmark': Science as Religion," *South Atlantic Quarterly* XLVIII (October, 1949), 575-583.

Such a protest can be read into "The Birthmark," and one can imagine that Hawthorne would have been pleased at such a reading. But the central purpose of the story, to illustrate the folly of an effort to gain on earth a perfection which is not possible in man's human state, does not depend on the fact that Aylmer makes his attempt in the laboratory; and besides, he is an alchemist rather than a scientist. A similar procedure of assembling images and figures enables Leo Marx, in an article of 1956 entitled "The Machine in the Garden" [122] and another three years later, "Two Kingdoms of Force," [123] to display in works by Hawthorne and Melville patterns of science, industrialism, and urban life in opposition to nature, innocence, and pastoral life. In such articles as these the details are selected in a way to give Hawthorne and Melville attitudes which may belong not so much to them as to the scholars writing in a later time. It has turned out that a good number of Hawthorne's and Melville's works have produced various meanings for various readers. Herein lies testimony, I should say, to richness and subtlety in the works. The danger is that, through the assembling of metaphoric and symbolic patterns, the reader's own particular views and his dogmatism may be asserted inappropriately as belonging to the work and the author.

In his book on *The American Novel and Its Tradition,* 1957, Richard Chase objects to the over-elaborate and the over-explicit readings which have been given the images and symbols in both Hawthorne and Melville. [124] In the preface to his study *Love and Death in the American Novel,* 1960, Leslie Fiedler declares that the readings which he advances are intended not to replace but to supplement others, and that he would not expect his readers to find them any more adequate than he has found the readings proposed by others in the past. [125] Such a disclaimer is fitting, for Mr. Fiedler is by no means timid in applying the principles of both Freud and Jung to Hawthorne and Melville. Among other recent special debtors to psychological principles may be named Henry A. Murray, editor of *Pierre* in the Hendricks House edition and author of a Freudian exposition of *Moby Dick;* [126] Janez Stanonik, author of a book on *Moby Dick* published in Yugoslavia in 1962, *Moby Dick: The Myth and the Symbol: A Study in Folklore and Literature,* which gives less attention to Jungian archetypal myths than to those with a more matter-of-fact existence in folklore; [127] Bruce Franklin, author of a book published in 1963, which undertakes to relate some of Melville's works to the myths of ancient and remote civilizations; [128] John Halverson, writer of an essay in 1963 which interprets several characters and incidents of *Moby Dick* in terms of Jung's theory of the Shadow; [129] D. E. S. Maxwell, author of *American Fiction: The Intellectual Background,* 1963, containing a long chapter on Hawthorne and Melville; [130] and Frederick C. Crews, who presents Freudian readings of various Hawthorne stories including "Roger Malvin's Burial" [131] and "Rappaccini's Daughter." [132] Scholarship in both authors, but especially Melville, has reflected the recent vogue Jungian psychology has had among literary students.

The scholarly study of Hawthorne and Melville has been advanced by several books not yet named: Rudolph Von Abele, *The Death of the Artist: A Study of Hawthorne's*

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[122] Leo Marx, "The Machine in the Garden," *New England Quarterly,* XXIX (March, 1956), 27-42.

[123] Leo Marx, "Two Kingdoms of Force," *Massachusetts Review,* I (October, 1959), 62-95.

[124] (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1957; also Anchor Books, A116).

[125] (New York: Criterion Books, 1960; also Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, Meridian Books, M643, 1962).

[126] Henry A. Murray, " 'In Nomine Diaboli,' " *New England Quarterly,* XXIV December, 1951), 435-452.

[127] (Yugoslavia: Ljubljana University Press, 1962).

[128] H. Bruce Franklin, *The Wake of the Gods: Melville's Mythology* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963).

[129] John Halverson, "The Shadow in *Moby-Dick,*" *American Quarterly,* XV (Fall, 1963), 436-446.

[130] (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963).

[131] Frederick C. Crews, "The Logic of Compulsion in 'Roger Malvin's Burial,' " PMLA, LXXIX (September, 1964), 457-465.

[132] Frederick C. Crews, "Giovanni's Garden," *American Quarterly,* XVI (Fall, 1964), 402-418.

Disintegration, 1955;[133] Roy R. Male, *Hawthorne's Tragic Vision,* 1957;[134] Arlin Turner, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: An Introduction and Interpretation,* 1961;[135] Millicent Bell, *Hawthorne's View of the Artist,* 1962;[136] James K. Folsom, *Man's Accidents and God's Purposes: Multiplicity in Hawthorne's Fiction,* 1963;[137] James Baird, *Ishmael,* 1956;[138] Milton Stern, *The Fine Hammered Steel of Herman Melville,* 1957;[139] Merlin Bowen, *The Long Encounter: Self and Experience in the Writings of Herman Melville,* 1960;[140] Warner Berthoff, *The Example of Melville,* 1962;[141] James E. Miller, *A Reader's Guide to Herman Melville,* 1962.[142] Mention should be made also of several important works which, like Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* and Yvor Winters's *Maule's Curse,* 1938,[143] among earlier books, are not restricted to either or both or our authors: Austin Warren, *Rage for Order,* 1948; Charles Feidelson, *Symbolism and American Literature,* 1953;[144] R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam,* 1955;[145] R. P. Blackmur, *The Lion and the Honeycomb,* 1956;[146] Harry Levin, *The Power of Blackness,* 1958;[147] Marius Bewley, *The Eccentric Design,* 1959;[148] and Daniel G. Hoffman, *Form and Fable in American Fiction,* 1961.[149]

Such a listing as I have made here, I am aware, reads like the inventory of a rich storehouse. Perhaps only an ingrate would speak of lacks. We expect not to have to wait much longer before we have for each author the complete letters, all the notebooks not yet properly edited, dependable editions of the complete works, and perhaps full-scale bibliographies. Yet, beyond these materials and beyond the shelf of scholarly work already in print, there is other work to be done. I have already mentioned the relations between Hawthorne and Melville, and the relations of each with his associates and members of his family and with the intellectual currents of the time. I have mentioned also Hawthorne's humor, and I would suggest his prose style as well as Melville's for detailed study. Someone needs to study Hawthorne's "First Diary" anew to establish the degree of its authenticity, and there is something to be learned still of his life in Salem, especially in the dozen years after he returned from Bowdoin in 1825. The complexities and bafflements of Melville's thought during his last years are still by no means resolved; and both the tales and the poems produced in those years, not to mention *Billy Budd,* invite explication and broadly based commentary. There is more to be learned about and from what each author read, more to be learned about their literary theories, such as Hawthorne's views of the novel and the romance and Melville's theories for the tales he wrote in the 1850's. There is more to be said usefully about the symbolizing propensity that was a major quality of both minds, and about the role that quality had in the shaping of their literary products.

Perhaps what I am saying is that the Hawthorne and Melville scholarship has yielded a great plenty, but that the plenty needs to be bolstered at spots and can profit from support at all others.

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[133] (The Hague: Martinus Nijoff, 1955).

[134] (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957; also New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., N258, 1964).

[135] (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961).

[136] (New York: State University of New York Press, 1962).

[137] (New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1963).

[138] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956).

[139] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

[140] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960; also Phoenix P132).

[141] (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).

[142] (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1962; also Noonday 221).

[143] (Yvor Winters, *Maule's Curse* (New York: New Directions, 1938).

[144] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953; also Phoenix P37, 1959).

[145] R. W. B. Lewis: *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955; also Phoenix P38, 1959).

[146] (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1955; also Harvest HB68, 1964).

[147] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958).

[148] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959, 1963).

[149] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961; also Galaxy Book 137, 1965).

Teaching Sequences in Hawthorne and Melville

Robert E. Shafer [1]

An initial question concerns the matter of teaching sequences in literature. Since the publication of the "Basic Issues" Conference proceedings in 1959, the term "sequence" has taken on increased significance in the discussions of English teachers as new programs are planned. Apparently in this conference there were intensive deliberations concerning both the aims and methods of teaching literature. Basic Issues 3 raises the question "Should literary works be required at each of the various levels in a basic program?" [2] This question is immediately followed by its implied answer, "If not, what happens to the great works which constitute our cultural tradition?" [3] The issue is then stated, "Should certain authors (if not specific works) be required at each level, or should the study of particular genres or literary types be established for each level?" After reading Professor Arlin Turner's comprehensive review of the research on Hawthorne and Melville, I am prepared to argue in this paper that these two particular authors be required reading for the vast majority of students in our senior high schools. The heart of my assignment here, however, clearly relates not to the above matter but to that facet of the English programs defined in Basic Issue 6 by the following question: "Should a sequential and cumulative program specify for each level those authors and works which are too important to be omitted?" I am also prepared to argue that Hawthorne and Melville are far too important to be omitted from the senior high school English program and that there are approaches emerging from recent scholarship, as reviewed by Mr. Turner, which suggest designs for new teaching sequences which hopefully would ultimately lead to a more comprehensive reading and therefore a fuller understanding of the major contributions made by both Hawthorne and Melville to American life and letters.

Hawthorne and Melville in Four Anthologies

A cursory survey of several recently published high school anthologies in American literature reveals little opportunity for the development of teaching sequences. Although all textbooks surveyed included selections by both writers with one exception, only one selection by Hawthorne and one by Melville were included in each text. For example, with respect to Melville, the new Scott, Foresman anthology, *The United States in Literature*, contains an excerpt from *Redburn*, a novel with a favorite theme of Melville's – innocence in the process of learning the wickedness and hardness in the world. [4] Although the introductory critical essay is an excellent one, it is doubtful that the 8½ page excerpt is enough to allow the reader to experience the development of this theme as Melville intended he should in the novel itself. Similarly, in the recently published Holt, Rinehart and Winston anthology, *This Is America*, the only Melville selection is the chapter from *Moby Dick*, "Stubb Kills a Whale." [5] It is perhaps unfortunate that the chapter is under a heading called "Our Daily Bread," perhaps creating the impression in a generation of high school readers that *Moby Dick* is really mostly about the hazards and successes of whaling as an occupation. The five-line critical explanation would be of little value in dispelling such an impression. Another chapter from *Moby Dick*, "Captain Ahab," was selected for Harcourt, Brace and World's *Adventures in American Literature.* [6] It seems incredible that from reading this short selection students could answer the following question which is posed for them by the editors:

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[1] The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Stanley Bank in the preparation of this paper.

[2] "The Basic Issues in the Teaching of English," *English Journal*, 48 (September 1959), passim.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Walter Blair, Paul Farmer, Theodore Hornberger, and Margaret Wasson (eds.), *The United States in Literature* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1963), pp. 319-326.

[5] Matthew Dolkey, Donald K. Kobler, and Harold Wagenheim (eds.), *This is America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 446-471.

> Many critics believe this story is a great allegory. Some feel that Ahab represents evil, and Moby Dick represents good or truth. Some give exactly the opposite interpretation. Which of these two seems the more reasonable to you? Perhaps you can give a third interpretation. [7]

Although the question is an excellent one representing one of the perennial critical conflicts over the meaning of *Moby Dick*, it seems highly unrealistic to expect high school students to develop or defend a reasonable answer without having read the total work.

In a departure from what is apparently accepted practice, the editors of Ginn & Company's new anthology *American Literature* have included "Bartleby the Scrivener" as the only Melville selection. Although it has rarely been anthologized in high school texts, Richard Chase has called it "one of the world's great short stories . . . its meanings are rich and various reminding alternately of Melville's kinship with Dickens, Dostoyevski, Kafka, and the author of the Book of Job. Its dark probings into the spirit of man and its delineation of 'sickness unto death' clearly go beyond a merely introspective self-assessment." [8]

Although the selection of "Bartleby the Scrivener" represents an apparent step ahead in the representative selection of Melville's work for anthologies, it does little to solve the problem of developing an appropriate teaching sequence. The term sequence implies a much wider sampling of the work of Melville than that found in most anthologies. The power of his writing should be made available to our high school students. And the same is true for Hawthorne for whom a similar situation exists in the anthologies sampled. Whatever the new patterns for teaching sequences may be, they will be impossible to accomplish unless a considerably greater variety of material is used and unless whole works, particularly longer works, are used to develop in the reader an understanding of the full power and thrust of the writer.

The Concept of Sequence in Literary Study

What criteria should govern the making of sequences for literary study in the classroom? If literature is art, then certainly we should presume that any sequential program would be directed toward showing how the art of a work and its meaning are intrinsic to one another or how all literature places a new form on human experience through the uses of certain rather specific "formal" devices.

The study of literature may be divided roughly into two clearly defined classifications – the study of matters "extrinsic" to the work but related to it and the study of matters "intrinsic" to the work. In helping to provide the student with a reading of the work at the highest possible level of comprehension, the teacher will need to concern himself with both the intrinsic and the extrinsic as to the way they illuminate the meaning and method of the work itself. A textual study of *Billy Budd* is obviously necessary and valuable if one is to avoid misreadings. In addition, all of the relevant concepts of history, the history of ideas, social struggles, psychological data, and scientific knowledge which may be brought to bear on a work constitute extrinsic qualities until they are made to illuminate the text of the work. As our knowledge of psychology has increased in the twentieth century, we have increasingly tended to apply this knowledge to the work of Melville and Hawthorne. As Mr. Turner has pointed out, such an application has changed the direction of literary scholarship toward the understanding of symbolic, mythic, and archetypal patterns felt by scholars to prevail in their work. The question of whether those scholars who prefer Christian symbolism or those who prefer Jungian symbolism have made the stronger case is perhaps an excellent beginning point for a teaching sequence. Indeed, one of the advantages of studying American writers intensively in classroom is that scholarly and critical opinions are not fixed and questions relating to ultimate meaning are open for critical examination in class provided the work and varying critical opinions – to be approached inductively – are available for classroom use. One might project a teaching sequence for Melville dealing with attempts to understand the controlling image of the fatherless outcast in his early books. He had been as Leon Howard points out,

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[6] Edmund Fuller and B. Jo Kinnick (eds.), *Adventures in American Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), pp. 558-562.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 563.

[8] Edward Gordon, Andrew J. Porter, and Henry L. Terrie, Jr. (eds.), *American Literature* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1964), pp. 329-356.

> a deserter in *Typee,* the runaway in *Omoo,* the escaped captive in *Mardi,* the orphan in *Redburn,* and the poor sailor denied a charitable daub of paint in *White Jacket.* And in *Moby Dick* he was Ishmael, the homeless wanderer. [9]

Similarly a teacher might construct a teaching sequence for Hawthorne dealing with the theme of guilt as described in "The Custom House" Introduction to *The Scarlet Letter,* where Hawthorne admits to being haunted by his prominent ancestor, a judge at Salem witchcraft trials in the 1690's. Such a sequence might be extended through an exploration of the hidden guilt of Hester Prynne and the Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale, and ultimately to a study of the guilt of a whole family, the cursed Pyncheons in *The House of Seven Gables.*

A Sequence of the Intrinsic and Extrinsic

Through seeing the form of a literary work displayed, students can learn to sense the ways literary form shapes meaning in the literary work itself. In any teaching sequence dealing with the form and substance of the work of Hawthorne and Melville, the literary form known as the romance should be highlighted. Indeed, a teaching sequence might be designed for both Hawthorne and Melville contrasting their longer works with the novel form as Henry James was later to define it. Some insight as to how this might be done can be derived from James's comments when he wrote about *The Scarlet Letter* in his small biography of Hawthorne in 1879. James assumed that the novel contains everything the reader needs for a full understanding of the motives and events which shape the ultimate fate of the characters. The romance does not lend itself to such a restricted definition. As Richard Chase has pointed out, the romance is fiction that "has a characteristic light and dark poetry and ranges freely among the extremes of human thought and experience." [10]

Such a fiction as the romance lends itself to the building of epic figures like Moby Dick, Hester Prynne, Dimmesdale, Chillingworth, and Billy Budd. Such a fiction permits the creation of symbolistic metaphors like the pursuit of the white whale, the letter A, the valley of Typee, the retreat of Bartleby the Scrivener, the confrontation of Benito Cereno and Captain Delano, the self-destruction of Ethan Brand, and the hanging of Billy Budd. Continuity, credibility, and the development of character seem to interest both Melville and Hawthorne far less than the establishment of metaphor and the juxtaposition of those metaphors in a dynamic relationship for the exploration of the moral and intellectual problems of the time. For such a purpose human motives as a clue to human actions are often left unexplored. Melville mysteriously abandons Bulkington in *Moby Dick*, a character he has led us to believe will have a major role in the book. As Richard Chase has further commented on the romance,

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[9] Leon Howard, *Herman Melville* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), p. 25.

[10] Richard Chase (ed.), *Melville* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1962), p. 4.

> Often the sequence of events is unexplained; the fate of men is made mysteriously; motives, if they are shown at all, are simplified and rendered abstract. Moral values are derived from a purely personal sense of horror or virtue; or else they are derived from abstract and intellectualized conceptions. They do not derive, as tends to be true in the novel, from the manners, assumptions, laws, and conventions of society.[11]

Consider the value of teaching sequence developed to explore these "abstract and intellectualized conceptions" using such materials as Hawthorne's "Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "Drowne's Wooden Image," "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment," "The Birthmark," "Rappaccini's Daughter," and Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener," "Benito Cereno," and *Billy Budd.*

The Act of Being Sequential

A final suggestion for a new ordering of sequential patterns in American literature concerns the place of Hawthorne and Melville in the whole chronicle of American literature. In suggesting this particular sequence I feel we must look carefully at our students. In today's society they often seem to be conditioned to believe that all truth can be communicated in scientific or logical terms. As teachers of literature we need to reaffirm that reality cannot be understood solely in discursive terms. The view of the literary artist is more comprehensive than that of the scientist. Literature tends to speak of the concrete world rather than in terms of abstractions about that world. Literature tends to be synthetic rather than analytic and to ask of the reader, at least at the time of reading, a kind of commitment as opposed to the objectivity demanded by scientific writing. Both Hawthorne and Melville have the power to engage our students in this way. Professor Turner has pointed out that "both Melville and Hawthorne wrote a dense, evocative prose, and that complete meanings could not be expected to lie on the surface." It is in this area which we might call the "iceberg" area that the substance of my final suggested sequence lies. Lionel Trilling suggested such a sequence in his essay, "Reality in America" when, commenting on Parrington's view of Hawthorne and Melville, he noted:

> A culture is not a flow, nor even a confluence; the form of its existence is struggle, or at least debate – it is nothing if not a dialectic. And in any culture there are likely to be certain artists who contain a large part of the dialectic within themselves, their meaning and power lying in their contradictions; they contain within themselves, it may be said, the very essence of the culture, and the sign of this is that they do not submit to serve the ends of any one ideological group or tendency. It is a significant circumstance of American Culture, and one which is susceptible of explanation, that an unusually large proportion of its notable writers of the nineteenth century were such repositories of the dialectic of their times – they contained both the yes and no of their culture, and by that token they were prophetic of the future. [12]

Both Hawthorne and Melville did contain a large part of the dialectic of their time within themselves. Hawthorne's "repository" contained the predisposition to continually examine and reexamine the question of evil in human experience as it appeared to him in his own time and place. This question contained the major thrust of his work and any teaching sequence designed to accommodate Hawthorne's work to any significant degree should take account of it. Such a sequence would certainly include the tale, "Young Goodman Brown" (1835), in which Hawthorne poses the question of the validity of empirical observations and the ways the senses collect material for judgment. Did he really attend a witches' Sabbath and see there all the good people of his seventeenth century New England village or did he only dream the experience? In "The Minister's Black Veil" (1836), the veil becomes the symbol of the minister's conviction that every man's heart was obscure to his fellows. In "Drowne's Wooden Image" (1844) and "The Artist of the Beautiful," he noted the price of a "brief period of excitement, kindled by love," which became isolation from the common affairs of humanity through a sense of moral cold. Here was a continuing question which would occupy him – the role of the writer whose pursuits placed him "either in advance of mankind, or apart from it." A similar opinion had been expressed in "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" (1837), that it was vain to interfere with the normal course of natural events, and in "The Birthmark" he concluded that the effort to so interfere could only lead to tragic consequences. This view was highlighted in "Rappaccini's Daughter" (1844), a Gothic folktale of a poison maiden whose beautiful appearance concealed the death within and whose innocent love affair demonstrated the tragedy of cold-blooded interference with the course of nature. "Ethan Brand" (1849) probed the depths of the "unpardonable sin," the violation of another personality, Hawthorne's view of the most severe offense against human sympathy. All of this was to lead ultimately to *The Scarlet Letter* in 1850 where Hawthorne was to show that the wages of sin curiously enough turn out to be life instead of death.

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[11] Richard Chase, *Herman Melville* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 6.

[12] Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1957), p. 7.

A similar sequence involving the work of Melville might deal with *Typee* (1846), which established Melville as a primitive. *Mardi* (1849) concluded with the suggestion that the hero must pursue fate forever and in vain. Next would come Melville's "wicked" book, *Moby Dick*, which Leon Howard has called a "literal fable," in which "no one can err greatly in his interpretation if he simply recognizes Ahab as a tragic hero whose arbitrary assumption (that Moby Dick represents evil) is his tragic flaw."[13] A good planner would undoubtedly include at some point in the sequence "Bartleby the Scrivener," "Benito Cereno," and *Billy Budd*. These products of Melville's later period continue to examine the theme of conflict between individual and social morality in American life which continually plague each individual as he finds himself enmeshed in the contradictions and ambiguities which inhere in the human condition. It was this question which baffled Melville from *Typee* to *Billy Budd*. It is the key to Melville from book to book – truly a natural for the design of a new and necessary teaching sequence.

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[13] Leon Howard, *Literature and the American Tradition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1960), p. 164.

Recent Scholarship on Whitman and Dickinson

Edmund Reiss

Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson are, few would deny, the greatest poets using verse that America has produced. Melville may in some ways be greater, but his finest poetry is to be found in his novels, and Eliot, in some ways more important, is dubiously American. Nevertheless, we are still faced with the disconcerting fact that neither Whitman nor Dickinson is accepted as a "really" great poet. They are both recognized as important historically, but neither seems to have written the kind of poetry that repays formal analysis, or at least the kind of formal analysis represented by many of the old New Critics, whose dicta still unofficially represent the official word in many academic circles today.

The view of Whitman given by George Santayana, a pre-New Critic, is one that may be taken as representative. Santayana used Whitman as the prime example of what he termed the poetry of barbarism, and for later commentators, such as Eliot, this would tend to sum up the objections to Whitman. Whitman's effusions are interesting, so say these critics, but they are apparently without real control, form, or structure, and are hardly more than primitive emotional gushings – Eliot speaks of his "aversion" to Whitman's "form as well as to much of his matter." Whitman often gives the impression of large-scale sloppiness, of being in a way like a big friendly dog who comes near us while we are dressed in formal attire and then slobbers and shakes his fur all over us. If we were in our old clothes and in private, we might enjoy the dog; but, resplendent in our public dress, we are only conscious of how the beast gets in the way and of how he represents an anachronism to our attire. In having the unpleasant habit of saying things which we as intellectuals have long since rejected as old-fashioned and unsophisticated, Whitman tends to embarrass us. At best, for many of us, he provides an excellent whipping boy. To reject Whitman is apparently an easy way of identifying oneself with intellectual ironic poetry and with a body of material that is international rather than provincially American.

Emily Dickinson has in some ways fared better than Whitman, for she has had the good fortune of being related both to the fashionable seventeenth-century English Metaphysical tradition and, in R. P. Blackmur's words in an essay in *Kenyon Review* (1956), to "the chain of poetry which runs from Baudelaire through surrealism, and, if you like, into existentialism." Such an identification, continues Blackmur, should establish her "as a member in good standing of the intellectual movement of modern poetry." What better recommendation could a writer have, currently at least, than one that links her work to that of Donne and Baudelaire; her individual talent is made part of the Tradition, and she is made respectable.

Even with favorable comparisons, Dickinson has suffered from those critics who try to define an artist's achievement purely in terms of form. As Blackmur wrote, in an earlier essay in *The Expense of Greatness,* she is unconscious of, if not without, the tools of poetic craftsmanship: "Emily Dickinson never knew anything about the craft of verse well enough to exemplify it let alone revolt from it." [1] Her poetry, in Blackmur's view, would have been better had she known what to do and how to do it: "She was neither a professional poet nor an amateur; she was a private poet who wrote indefatigably as some women cook or knit." And, according to Yvor Winters, who discussed her in an essay in his *In Defense of Reason,* while being "a poetic genius of the highest order" and "one of the greatest lyric poets of all time," still, "of all great poets, she is the most lacking in taste; there are innumerable beautiful lines and passages wasted in the desert of her crudities." [2] Clearly Winters resents that the poems should be so good and yet so offensive to his critical taste. Nor does Emily Dickinson escape the accusation of barbarism levelled at Whitman. For Winters, many of her lines are "barbarously constructed," and for Blackmur, she had a "resourceful barbarism of the soul," though here, I think, the word may be functioning in a complimentary way.

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[1] (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, Publisher, 1940).

Even literary historians have found it easier to ignore Dickinson than to understand her achievement. In the *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Spiller, Thorpe, Johnson, and Canby — a work that is the Bible of American literary studies for thousands of graduate students and teachers — Emily Dickinson, linked to Sidney Lanier, is allotted only nine pages of one chapter. [3] Furthermore, in the more recent *Eight American Authors,* ed. Floyd Stovall, and published under the auspices of the Modern Language Association, she is not even included. [4]

Although several books and scores of articles have been written, especially in recent years, about Whitman and Dickinson, both still exist as, what may be termed, underground poets. The official critical word has not as yet designated a place for them in the ranks of world poetry, and, although they are at present tolerated, they are not taken entirely seriously. Whitman's effusions about democracy and equality are unsophisticated and passé. Dickinson's lines often seem childish and cute or sentimental and mawkish — Winters, for example, speaks of the "silly playfulness" that permeates most of her writing.

Both writers also are "characters," and it is often as eccentrics that they are viewed. The question of Whitman's homosexuality and Dickinson's repressions and mysterious unhappy love affair are, whether true or not, for many people far more interesting and apparently more relevant than the question of what their poems are doing and how they do it. Or, when the poetry is examined, it is often viewed as verse autobiography, as a poetic account of the waking life of the poet, important primarily for the light it seems to shine on the historical life. When occasionally the poetry is looked at for itself, it is often found to be puzzling. The poems of Whitman and Dickinson do not easily fit into what we know of verse: they seem to be without form, and their content is all too often not the sort of content we are accustomed to seeing in serious verse. Often our response may be similar to that of Blackmur, who writes in *The Expense of Greatness* that the poetry of both Whitman and Dickinson is filled with "great repetitious wastes"; whatever success there may be is "by accident." Each wrote merely "exercises in self expression."

Despite such ambivalent criticism both poets have managed to avoid exile and/or extinction. Notwithstanding Dickinson's advantage of the Metaphysical-Surrealist label, Whitman has had rather more success remaining in the public eye — in large measure because of his image as seer and visionary, the kind of poet-prophet represented by the classical *vates.* Several twentieth century poets have written poems to and about Whitman or have shown distinct signs of being influenced by his visionary sense, particularly his cosmic consciousness, as well as by his subjectivity and spontaneity, elements not really in critical favor today. To many readers of today's world that insists upon the traditionally decorous and the understated in its art, the enormity of Whitman's words and figures, along with the lack of restraint of his enthusiasm, is embarrassing.

We do not object to the incongruity and implicit grotesquerie of such phrases as

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[2] (Denver, Colo.: Alan Swallow, Publisher, 1947).

[3] (3rd ed.: New York: Macmillan Company, 1964).

[4] (New York: New York University Press, 1956; also New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1962).

"I shake my white locks at the runaway sun,/I effuse my flesh in eddies, and drift it in lacy jags" (Whitman as comet). We modern sophisticated readers are well past disliking "disproportions and incongruity" of the sort Dr. Johnson was so annoyed at in Metaphysical poetry. Rather, Whitman seems, for many of us, too subjective and spontaneous. Apparently believing all he is saying, he is too involved, too committed – or, as a student once said to me, he is not "cool" enough. There seems to be a lack of what is generally termed esthetic distance between Whitman and his subject. The process of selectivity of the artist seems not to have proceeded far enough. (I, of course, use the word *seems* on purpose here).

Still, from the uninhibited admiration of dozens of poets in recent years, one gets the impression that there is a tradition in literature of which Whitman is part. From Whitman to D. H. Lawrence, Hart Crane, Dylan Thomas, and Henry Miller, for example, there seems to be a specific link, one which continues to Federico García Lorca, Allen Ginsberg, and younger American writers. It is this tradition that James E. Miller, Jr., Karl Shapiro, and Bernice Slote have examined in their book, *Start with the Sun, Studies in Cosmic Poetry,* published in 1960 and now in paperback. [5] Their attempt is not to sell the poet by joining him to currently fashionable movements but to show that a tradition, still by and large unpopular, stems in large measure from Whitman.

In the first essay in the book Bernice Slote speaks of modern poetry:

> If one were asked to draw the face of twentieth-century poetry, he would very likely describe its intellectual complexity, its concentration into cubicles of wit, its wasteland derogation of possibilities, its lack of physical joy. He would, in fact, be describing the New Puritanism – that tradition of rigorously honed intellectualism in which the old worship of the soul has been replaced by the worship of the mind, but in which the same sort of exile is imposed on the body. The New Puritanism has been the dominant face in modern poetry, from the negation of *The Waste Land* through several poetic generations of a tradition focused in the theory of Ezra Pound, the performance of T. S. Eliot. [6]

This is not to say that one cannot like both Whitman and Eliot – I, in fact, do – but where in the writing of the New Puritanism, Miss Slote goes on to ask, is "the song, the incantation, the magic, the passion of poetry? These seem to be sacrificed, like the body, to metrical essay, analysis, and exposition."

There is, however, another stream of poetry flowing along with the Eliot tradition. This is the Whitman Tradition, though Miss Slote points out it could just as well be termed the New Paganism: "This tradition does have the pagan joy and wonder in the natural world, the living cosmos. It believes in the body *as well as* the soul, both in a unified duality that also combines emotion and intellect, good and evil. It is religious, physical, passionate, incantatory. It is affirmative in its constant sense of life." The modern poets of this tradition are linked to such figures of Romanticism as Blake and Wordsworth by "the magnetic, complete figure of Whitman." All these men, and Whitman in particular, are "poets of the cosmos," writing "life poetry." That is, they give a full expression of the physical and spiritual realities of life. There is the sense of the generative, of the becoming. Whitman, for Miss Slote and the other authors of *Start with the Sun,* is giving "the personal voice with the universal meaning, the individual identity and the merge into wholeness."

The formal analysis of New Criticism, perceptive and useful as it often is, is weakest when it finds something that its method cannot readily handle and then rejects the thing instead of revising the method. Also, a method which has as its means and end analysis – that is, a concern primarily with the breakdown and study of parts, can hardly handle writing based so much on the idea of synthesis that there are no individual parts in the conventional sense of the word. Along with synthesis, a consciousness of wholeness, Whitman's writing is based on a body-spirit metaphysic that refuses to be encompassed or even comprehended by the intellectual dissecting of many critics. Not that this writing cannot reveal itself to the dissecter; it can indeed, but something remains left over. It gives the dissecter much of what he wants, but the dissecter does not always realize that after his dissecting is finished, all has not been revealed.

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[5] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960).

[6] *Ibid.*

In Whitman's poetry is to be found the Orphic voice, that which is the spirit of connotation, whose aim is to reveal what cannot be revealed through ordinary intellectual processes and through ordinary denotative language. This voice is of inspiration, insight, and revelation, and belongs to him who is the prophet-poet, a figure suspect in the modern world. We know that prophets are long since gone and that soothsayers are only charlatans in disguise. We do not object to that which uses the prophetic as a role, that which, to produce a certain effect, consciously expresses itself in the oracular manner. This is what the actor does, and him we understand in part; but the poet who, like Whitman, seems actually to present himself in his verse as the prophet, who does not admit he is acting, is little better than a madman, and him we shun.

Furthermore, we tend to question Whitman's "sincerity," a term that seems to be coming back into critical favor, but one I do not really understand. When I read a poem, I cannot tell whether the poet is sincere or not, that is, I suppose, whether he has actually had the experience he records or whether he even believes what he is saying. When we appeal to the sincerity of a work, we seem to be using the term as a substitute, and a poor one at that, for effectiveness; but apparently we feel it necessary to know that our writers are "for real." Certainly Whitman played several roles – whether consciously or not is beside the point – and late in his life he saw himself as a prophet writing inspired truths. His writing was then for him not literature at all, but a Bible showing mankind what to believe and how to live. He even said, "No one will get at my verses who insists upon viewing them as a literary performance." Such a statement and such a point of view, insisting on a dichotomy between literature and prophecy, are, however, irrelevant to the writings. They merely show that Whitman the man did not understand the writings of Whitman the poet, and that Whitman as an old man was different from Whitman as a young man. What is important is the poetry, not his view of it, and while granting the possible insincerity of the man, I insist on the effectiveness, the power and significance, of his poetry. Notwithstanding Whitman's words, the verses are "a literary performance" – prophetic *and* literary – and must be judged as such.

Some may think that the view of Whitman as life poet put forward by Miller, Shapiro, and Slote is excessive and makes Whitman into a coterie mystical poet, appealing only to a certain kind of reader. Roy Harvey Pearce writes in *The Minnesota Review* (1961) that "Whitman fails as a prophetic poet, precisely because he was such a powerfully *humane* poet." Such a statement seems striking, but is it really necessary to view the prophetic and the humane (as well as the prophetic and the literary) as opposites? Why cannot a person or a work be both? Or is it that Pearce means that Whitman's prophecy is not something existing off by itself and for itself, unrelated to actual human life? In this sense he is certainly correct, for Whitman's prophecy exists for mankind and his relevance to mankind, and is not just shouted to the winds for its sound.

I would argue in favor of the Miller, Shapiro, Slote view if for no other reason than that it represents a possible way of getting at Whitman's literary-prophetic accomplishment. Moreover, their study demonstrates that, whatever the official word about Whitman, there exists unofficially a tradition that reflects his presence. Poetry emphasizing spontaneity, the sound of the human voice, and wisdom, finds a friend and ideal in Whitman's verse. This view stands furthermore as an official protest to the silence and general disapproval of most critics of the past generation, and in many ways clears the air. It allows for the insights of archetypal criticism, as Northrop Frye uses the term, meaning the study of universal themes and patterns found in the work. This approach is also aided by the critical view that rejects the dichotomy between content and form, and is able to see Whitman in a way that does not turn him into a sloppy formless writer. Insights like Robert Creeley's and Charles Olson's that form is but an extension of content, that content finds its own form, can help Whitman to gain officially the place he deserves in world literature and, more important, can make it possible for many suspicious or hesitant readers to view Whitman's work in terms of a wholeness, in which the poetry is what is being said as well as how it is being said, or, more exactly, a wholeness in which there can be no separation between the what and the how.

To argue about whether or not Whitman is a sophisticated poet is to miss Whitman the poet. Sophisticated, a loaded term, to be sure, does not mean or make poetry; and, in any case, not being sophisticated does not mean being primitive. Whitman's "barbaric yawp" is a pejorative only for the superficial. It is really a return to essentials, to that which is beyond the surfaces of modern civilization, but it is certainly not a denial of the human or the cultural, or the true.

Since the centennial in 1955 of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, an increasing number of books and articles exploring Whitman's ideas and his poetic skills and methods have appeared. In that year Gay Wilson Allen's memorable critical biography, *The Solitary Singer*, now available in paperback, made it increasingly possible to see that a gulf really exists between the person and life of Whitman the poet and the person and life of the I in the poems.[7] Because of such work as this biography, along with Allen's earlier *Walt Whitman Handbook*, still the best overall introduction to Whitman,[8] it is now becoming more and more possible to concentrate on textual problems and general critical questions. We are slowly becoming aware that Whitman is a poet using art and artifice, not someone merely recording his autobiography. As Paul Fussell states in an *English Institute* paper, "we are beginning to learn how to redeem Whitman from life, from politics, and from folk philosophy."

Also in 1955, Allen edited a series of critical essays in translation from Europe, Latin America, and the Near and Far East under the title, *Walt Whitman Abroad*, an interesting work that shows both Whitman's acceptance as an international poet and the various insights writers apart from the American scene can give.[9] Another volume of essays appearing in this centennial year was *Leaves of Grass, One Hundred Years After*, ed. Milton Hindus, containing work by William Carlos Williams, Kenneth Burke, David Daiches, J. Middleton Murry, Leslie Fiedler, and Richard Chase, surely a distinguished group of critics to appear under one cover.[10] Richard Chase also in 1955 published his *Walt Whitman Reconsidered*, particularly concerned with the idea of *Leaves of Grass* as a cosmic poem.[11] In spite of interesting sections the book is not one of Chase's best, and as a critical biography of Whitman, it is unfortunately dwarfed by Allen's work.

After 1955, the Whitman boom continued as several more important books on the poet were published. One of the best of these is James E. Miller's *A Critical Guide to Leaves of Grass*.[12] This is a very perceptive, exciting, though at times controversial, study of the poetry, showing that instead of being formless, it is sensitively ordered, and that its form, far from being a fraudulent pose, is really genuine drama. In both his analyses of individual poems and his study of the whole *Leaves of Grass*, Miller makes it possible for us to see the nature and extent of Whitman's artistry. In many ways this is the best study of Whitman's poetry to have yet appeared.

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[7] (New York: Macmillan Company, 1965; also New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Books E-136, 1959).
[8] (New York: Hendricks House, 1946, 1957).
[9] (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1954).
[10] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955).
[11] (New York: William Sloane Associates [William Morrow], 1955).
[12] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

Roger Asselineau's *Evolution of Walt Whitman*, published in French in 1954 and translated into English in two volumes in 1960 and 1962, likewise gives several insights into both the artist and his art.[13] This work is primarily concerned with Whitman's development after the 1855 edition. Even though Asselineau regards the poems as autobiographical documents revealing Whitman's personality and life, he is able to make meaningful many aspects of Whitman's art, especially in the second part, called "The Creation of a Work." Another very perceptive European book on Whitman is *Walt Whitman* by the Danish critic, Fredrick Schyberg, written in 1933 and translated into English in 1951, and subsequently influential in American criticism of the poet.[14] By and large, the book is designed to illustrate Schyberg's thesis that Whitman's genius was brought out through the conflict between his sexual impulses and his desire to write a Bible for the new world, but in his analysis of the main editions of *Leaves of Grass*, the thesis does not get in the way of his critical insights. Schyberg and Asselineau both often make the same assumptions about the integral relationship between man and book, an opproach that goes back to Jean Catel's book, *Walt Whitman: La Naissance du poète*, which appeared in 1929 but has never been translated into English.

Several other interesting books on Whitman have appeared in the 1960's. Emory Holloway's *Free and Lonesome Heart: The Secret of Walt Whitman* is primarily a biographical study, emphasizing the sexual awakening of the poet and its effect on his poems.[15] Although limited by the thesis, the book is valuable for its analysis of poems in the "Children of Adam" and "Calamus" sections of *Leaves of Grass.* Gay Wilson Allen's *Walt Whitman as Man, Poet, and Legend* is in many respects a miscellany, as the title suggests, of both articles the author had written previously and newer studies he made for this book.[16] In part, because of the essay, "Whitman's Image in the Twentieth Century," and the very useful check list of Whitman publications from 1945 to 1960, compiled by Mrs. Allen, the work may be viewed as a companion and supplement to Allen's earlier *Walt Whitman Handbook.* A work also useful as a guide to Whitman is the critical-biographical *Walt Whitman* by James E. Miller, done for Twayne's United States Authors Series in 1962.[17] Available in both hard cover and paperback, this volume is an excellent concise introduction to the poet and the poems.

Also in 1962 appeared a collection of *English Institute Essays* edited by R. W. B. Lewis as *The Presence of Walt Whitman.*[18] I find this work, containing six critical essays, an exceptionally useful volume. It presents several kinds of criticism; often the writers — Stephen Whicher, Paul Fussell, Jr., Richard Chase, Roy Harvey Pearce, Samuel Hynes, James Miller, and James A. Wright — address themselves to each other's views; and the emphasis is distinctly on Whitman's poetry, especially on "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," and on the continuing influence of the poet and his poetry. The work is designed to testify, as Lewis's foreword puts it, "to the remarkable and continuing *presence* of Walt Whitman, despite persistent efforts in certain learned and fashionable quarters over many years to belittle or simply to neglect him."

Some recent paperback books on Whitman not yet mentioned are Geoffrey Dutton's *Whitman*, representing an adequate but brief introduction to the poet,[19] and Roy Harvey Pearce's edition of critical essays, also called *Whitman*, in the Twentieth

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[13] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[14] *Walt Whitman*, trans. Evie Allison Allen, intro. Gay Wilson Alten (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

[15] (New York: Vantage Press, 1960).

[16] (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961).

[17] (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962).

[18] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

[19] (New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Pilot, 1961).

Century Views series.[20] This volume seeks apparently to present the best critical analyses available, but, while some important essays are included, several others might better have been replaced by more significant work. Still, the book may be viewed as giving a useful survey of Whitman criticism. This is also a virtue of John C. Broderick's edition called *Whitman the Poet,* which contains prefaces, poems, and several significant critical estimates.[21]

Probably the most involved and most important work on Whitman at present is the project under the general editorship of Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley of publishing in a definitive edition *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman.*[22] Already published are *The Early Poems and the Fiction,* ed. Thomas Bresher; three of five volumes of the *Correspondence,* ed. Edwin Haviland Miller; the complete two-volume edition of *Prose Works, 1892,* ed. Floyd Stovall; and *Leaves of Grass,* ed. Harold W. Blodgett and Sculley Bradley. This last work prints the 1892 edition of the poems in a facsimile edition, complete with collations of all the earlier texts. *Leaves of Grass* went through nine editions during the poet's lifetime. That is, there are nine different versions of *Leaves,* the final one of 1891-92 containing nearly 400 poems – Blodgett and Bradley also print scores of poems hitherto unpublished or uncollected – compared to the dozen poems in the first edition of 1855. Not only are the nine editions quantitatively different but the actual poems as found in one edition are often different from the same poems as found in other editions. Whitman's poetry was both product and process, and each ended only with the death of the poet.

Often the changes Whitman made from edition to edition do not result in improvements in the poems. Many Whitman scholars in fact prefer the early editions to the later ones, but it is the final so-called "deathbed" edition with its changes that is the usual basis for texts of the poems. Even though such editions as Emory Holloway's "Inclusive Edition," long the definitive edition, and the new definitive one of Blodgett and Bradley give variant readings,[23] their text is still basically that of a late edition. Perhaps this must be so, but the earlier editions had a unity missing in Whitman's artificially constructed later ones, and the poems themselves had a depth and power lost in part in the later revisions.

No matter how much one may like Whitman, one has to admit that almost all his work of value dates from 1855 to 1865. After this, while producing several short gems such as "The Dalliance of the Eagles" and "A Noiseless Patient Spider," Whitman was not able to write anything having the scope and intensity of "Song of Myself," "The Sleepers," "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," "Out of the Cradle," and "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." "Lilacs," written in 1865, represents the high water mark of Whitman's poetry and, for many critics, the high water mark of American poetry. The questions of the nature of Whitman's poetic development and the unity of *Leaves of Grass* are still relevant ones that are likely to remain questions for a long while.

Perhaps one aid to approaching these problems is an edition by James E. Miller, Jr., called *Whitman's 'Song of Myself' – Origin, Growth, Meaning,* appearing in paperback earlier in 1964.[24] Printing the 1855 and 1892 versions of "Song of Myself" on facing pages and including early notebook versions of the poem, Miller wants the reader to see for himself how the poem works in its various stages and how it proceeded from first version to last version. Also Miller includes six critical views of the poem by different writers, examining it as structure, poetry, mysticism, comedy, epic, and inspired prophecy, each view, as Miller says, "taking the measure of a different dimension of the poem." Perhaps intensive analysis of this poem, which may be seen as a microcosm of the whole *Leaves of Grass,* is a practical way of gaining understanding of Whitman's poetic artistry.

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[20] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962).
[21] (Belmont, Calif.: Wadworth Publishing Company 1962).
[22] (New York: New York University Press).
[23] (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964).
[24] (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1964).

Another combination edition-commentary is *Walt Whitman's Poems: Selections with Critical Aids,* ed. Gay Wilson Allen and Charles T. Davis. [25] Containing forty of the best poems in *Leaves,* along with Whitman's 1855 Preface, this volume is particularly valuable for its critical introduction and its critical comments on the particular poems. These represent, without doubt, some of the most perceptive criticism of the poems available and make the volume useful for both advanced students of Whitman and those coming to *Leaves of Grass* for the first time.

There are, of course, several other easily available editions of Whitman's poetry, from editions of *Leaves* by Sculley Bradley for Rinehart, Miller for Riverside, and Gay Wilson Allen for Signet, to selections by Leslie Fiedler for Laurel. In 1959, Malcolm Cowley edited the first edition, the 1855 edition, of *Leaves,* with a long introduction stressing the importance of this edition of Whitman's poems. Cowley's edition, now in Compass paperback, is a very useful book both for the editor's comments and for its making easily available many of Whitman's best poems in what may be their best version. [26] The 1855 edition has subsequently been reprinted without introduction or commentary in Dolphin. The 1860 or third edition of *Leaves,* much larger than the first edition, has also been the subject of some recent work. Its manuscripts were edited by Fredson Bowers in 1955, [27] and it has been reprinted in both hard covers and paperback with an introduction by Roy Harvey Pearce. Speaking of the 1855, 1856, and 1860 editions, Pearce feels they make a complete sequence in which "the poet invents modern poetry, explores its possibilities as an instrument for studying the world at large and himself as somehow vitally constitutive of it, and comes finally to define, expound, and exemplify the poet's vocation in the modern world."

Clearly we are past the time when admirers of Whitman were regarded as simple-minded, but we have not yet reached the point where Whitman's poems are considered, as David Daiches wrote in the *Walt Whitman Review in* 1960, "a mystery and a challenge" demanding "the same kind of sympathetic critical attention as those of Eliot or Yeats." They should be and obviously will be some day.

To talk about Emily Dickinson in the same breath with Walt Whitman is to join together two very different poets. Although both were contemporaries, visionaries, concerned with similar subjects, and interested in metrical experimentation, the specific concerns and methods of each are essentially different. Although I am not able to go into this matter in detail here, a few points may be relevant. For instance, although both writers are concerned with the Self – over three hundred poems by Dickinson begin with I, and Whitman's *Leaves* is filled with several songs of myself – still neither writer means the same thing by Self. While Whitman's I gives the impression of being Walt, who is relating to everything, Dickinson's I is far less personal, or far less a projection of the poet. In her words, the I "does not mean – me – but a supposed person." Rather than merge with the outside world, Dickinson's I tends to respond to that world, but the emphasis is neither on the I nor on the world, nor even on the fusion of the two. Rather, her poetry emphasizes various aspects of human consciousness and awareness, as are revealed by her I. While Whitman in his cosmic vision creates, as it were, a cosmos absorbing both the individual and the world outside him, Dickinson is interested in examining the qualities of life outside the individual but known through the individual's response. Thus what she emphasizes are the beauty, mystery, and pain of life. But neither poet is primarily concerned with *knowing* that which is. Whitman is interested in the sequence of nature and man, Dickinson in the qualities of nature and its inherent foreignness to man. With Whitman all is one; I, you, and it are all part of the great synthesis of Being; with Dickinson, the individual is ordinarily separate from nature.

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[25] (New York: New York University Press, 1955).

[26] (New York: Viking Press, 1959; also Compass C98, 1961).

[27] *Whitman's Manuscripts, Leaves of Grass: 1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

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To view this essential difference between the two poets in another way, Whitman moves from the particular to the general, which incorporates the particular. Dickinson, on the other hand, relates the general to the particular. The end is in each case different. Whitman observes "a spear of summer grass," then emphasizes grass in general, for him representing the unknowable essence of life. It is, he says, "the flag of my disposition," "the handkerchief of the Lord," "a uniform hieroglyphic," that which "shows there is really no death" and no division. When Emily Dickinson speaks of grass, however, she is not interested in finding in it God, the grand, or the democratic principle of life. Rather, she sees it as illustrating the beauty of Being; it is "a Sphere of single Green." Furthermore, as in the line "The Grass so little has to do," grass suggests to her the leisure she finds so necessary to living. But, most significantly, she often sees grass as a singular object, not as a collective noun, as in the following: "I wish I was a grass" and also "I wish I were a Hay." The key word in both sentences is, of course, *a*.

While Whitman, public seer that he is, looks outward, merges, flows, expands, and says all is good, Emily Dickinson looks at the parts of creation, often the small, even minuscule, parts; her preternatural awareness is of the individual and the fragmentary, and, moreover, she does not indiscriminately accept or even respond to everything. What is not is at least as important to her as what is; for Whitman everything *is*. Also her response to life is often negative, quite different from Whitman's unquestioning optimism. She often seems afraid of experience, and often holds it away from her as she looks at it. In her poetry appear the contrasts of good and bad, living and dying, something and nothing, as real and frightening dichotomies. Whitman is conscious of the presence of the divine and finds in the fact of time the way to completeness. But for Dickinson God is an elusive being, and time is a force destroying the individual.

One of the results of such divergent views is a unique response of each poet to the subject at hand. While Whitman shouts his praise of life and exudes his confidence and optimism, his response itself has little depth or shading to it. Whitman recreates existence, tells us what it is and how to view it. In Dickinson's hesitation and uncertainty we can see desire and despair, along with a continuing reappraisal of experience. We examine with her, but she does not give us anything that is *the* answer to life. While Whitman's poetry states emotion in its lines, it is one-dimensional, as it were, in its effects; while Dickinson's verse represses emotion – at times seeming childlike and naive – it reveals the inherent ambiguity of life, continually surprises, and allows for manifold emotions. Whitman's best poetry is spellbinding, truly compelling, mighty, even epic, as some critics have tried to demonstrate. It takes the reader on a daring voyage of the mind to visions of the great wonders of life. Emily Dickinson's best poems are homely, sometimes even chatty, filled at the same time with pinpoints of both intellectual and emotional intensity, that prick us and thereby tend to excite and drain us. In Whitman's work we are often awed and even made to feel the presence of something superhuman; Dickinson, on the other hand, may seem slighter in her witty even whimsical manner, but the effect of her "Slant of Surprise" is breathtaking. As John Crowe Ransom so rightly says in an essay in *Perspectives* USA, [28] here is "the kind of art which looks coolly upon the turgid deliverance of sensibility and disciplines it into beauty."

One can only imagine Dickinson's response had she read Whitman's poetry. In reply to a letter of T. W. Higginson, she wrote in 1872, "You speak of Mr. Whitman, I never read his Book – but was told that he was disgraceful." This view represents, of course, official public disapproval of Whitman. Had Dickinson read him, she probably would have reacted with a mixture of surprise and delight, revulsion and attraction, comparable in some ways to her reaction to Hawthorne who, she said, "entices – appalls."

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[28] (New York: New Directions, 1956).

While perhaps struck by his facade of coarseness, she may have been perceptive enough to see, what James A. Wright has termed, Whitman's delicacy, meaning his "restraint, clarity, and wholeness, all of which taken together embody that deep spiritual inwardness, that fertile strength" which is "the most beautiful power" of his poetry.

This brief comparison-contrast is not to prefer one poet over the other but to correct a view such as that which refers to Emily Dickinson as a "Whitman in miniature." Whitman and Dickinson are each unique, and the writing of each must be approached as something working on its own terms. Since both poets are striking figures with presences that fill their poetry, they perhaps can never be completely detached from their work; but we must, at some time at least, approach the work as if it existed by itself. Another difficulty is the problem of text. This has already been discussed in terms of Whitman, but the matter is even more complicated with Dickinson.

Having published only seven short poems during her lifetime, Dickinson the recluse was apparently not interested in the final product of her art; that is, she did not regard her works as products no longer capable of development or change. When her literary remains were examined after her death in 1886, thousands of poems in all stages of composition came to light. These were published piecemeal and inaccurately by her relatives during the next sixty years, a publication history that has been termed "probably the most unfortunate . . . in modern literary annals." Finally, in 1955, a complete scholarly edition of all Dickinson's poems was published in three volumes. This work, edited by Thomas H. Johnson, was rightly hailed as one of the most significant publishing events of modern times.[29] It presented all the poems and fragments of poems – numbering 1775 pieces; it noted all the variations in all the manuscripts; and it attempted to arrange the poems in a chronological order, based largely on the author's changing handwriting. But even with Johnson's magnificent edition, the problems are still many and great. With an accurate text, we can now see both the errors and changes made by early editors, changes that have necessitated and still necessitate critical reassessment of individual poems and of Dickinson's poetic genius. Since Johnson's edition critics have had to start over, and the past nine years have seen some important analyses.

But because Emily Dickinson was a private poet, one who did not write for publication, we cannot be sure of the state of any of her poems except the seven published during her lifetime. These seven have been memorialized, as it were – though we have seen what Whitman did to poems that likewise had been memorialized in a certain form. We cannot be certain that Dickinson's 1768 other poems are finished products, even when they may seem so. The stanza divisions, for example, are not necessarily fixed, as the manuscript versions of the poem, "Safe in Their Alabaster Chambers," show; the use of capitalization and punctuation often seems merely capricious, though in some cases the dashes, elongated periods, angular commas, stress marks, and dividing verticals that are her favorite punctuation marks seem to be purposeful and meaningful. If the poems had been prepared for publication, we could then see clearly whether these peculiarities are intentional, and if so, how they are used.

The poems making up Dickinson's literary remains exist as rough originals, semifinal drafts, and fair copies. But who can say that there is necessarily a progress to completion taking place here? For example, the piece, "Two Butterflies went out at Noon," called by Johnson "a fascinating document of poetic creativeness in travail," was apparently in a near-complete state in 1862; in 1878, however, Dickinson returned to it, worked it over, took it apart, and finally abandoned it in a piecemeal state. Furthermore, Johnson's edition makes it apparent that presenting the poems accurately and having the poems attractive to the eye are not the same thing. This text is one designed for scholars who are interested in all of Emily Dickinson's variants, but what about a text for those solely interested in reading her poetry? Normalizing spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, along with choosing from variant readings, might seem to be a simple job, but when done properly, it is really Herculean. Speaking of the problems of editing Dickinson, R. P. Blackmur, in the *Kenyon Review* (1956), describes what the ideal editor must do. He "must learn to notate the voice which in intimacy he has learned to hear," and at the same time he must notate "what he has learned to understand." This ideal editor will without doubt be a long time coming.

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[29] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).

Lest it be thought that the Dickinson text problem is a unique one, it might be pointed out that scholars of medieval and Renaissance literature, for instance, are constantly faced with multi-versions of texts containing various verbal differences as well as errors and changes made by scribes and printers. In few of these cases is it known which is the "original" version or the "final" version. Perhaps if both general readers and future editors of Emily Dickinson were to make a distinction between the original version and the best version, the job of presenting a good critical text could be made easier. Antiquarians may be interested in that version which is apparently the earliest, but most readers are concerned with that reading which is the best, that is, the most effective as a piece of literary art. This reading will be the most original, though, of course, in a different sense of the word.

Although some interesting one-volume editions of Dickinson's poems have been made since 1955, including two others by Johnson, one, of the complete poems without variants, and another, of selected poems, appearing this year in paperback, as well as selections by John Malcolm Brinin in Laurel and by Robert N. Linscott in Anchor, none of these has squarely faced the problems of critical editing. The Johnson editions are reprints of what he determined to be final versions in his variorum edition; the Brinin edition is based on two pre-Johnson editions, except for a few poems from Johnson which have a normalized orthography and punctuation of sorts; and the Linscott edition contains texts from three late nineteenth-century editions of Dickinson. There is a very real immediate need for a critical edition of selections of Dickinson's poems.

Since 1955, several biographies of Emily Dickinson have appeared, including one by Johnson, *Emily Dickinson: An Interpretive Biography*, accompanying, as it were, his three-volume edition of the poems.[30] Unfortunately, this is not the sort of critical biography represented by Allen's study of Whitman, *The Solitary Singer*. Other recent biographical studies are Jay Leyda's amazingly detailed work, *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson*, in two volumes,[31] and Theodora Ward's *The Capsule of the Mind, Chapters in the Life of Emily Dickinson*,[32] a rather interesting study of the development of the poet's personality, helpful in understanding the poetry. Still, none of these works is as important as two critical studies written in the last few years: Charles R. Anderson's *Emily Dickinson's Poetry, Stairway of Surprise*,[33] and Clark Griffith's *The Long Shadow, Emily Dickinson's Tragic Poetry*.[34] Both are essentially thematic studies of motifs that run through the poems and give them a unity of sorts. The early editions of Emily Dickinson generally printed the poems according to such subjects as Life, Nature, Love, Time, and Eternity; and the subject index of Johnson's 1955 edition has tended to perpetuate this approach. The recent *Concordance to the Poems of Emily Dickinson*, ed. S. P. Rosenbaum (1964), will no doubt result in still more such studies.

At worst, such studies as these are mere catalogues of the various aspects of the subject, getting away from the poems themselves; at best, they use the patterns found in the subject to return to what the particular poems are doing. The books by Anderson and Griffith, while not neglecting the particular poems, view them primarily in terms of the bulk of poems of which they are part.

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[30] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).
[31] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960).
[32] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).
[33] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960).
[34] (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964).

Although both books are successful in their analyses and important for the understandings they give the reader, they reveal difficulties inherent in all critical work of any scope on Emily Dickinson. In a very perspective observation, R. P. Blackmur *(Kenyon Review,* 1956) raises the problem that Dickinson's poems "have none of the self-modulating advantages of length or any of the certainties of complex overt studies. One exaggerates, but it sometimes seems as if in her work a cat came at us speaking English, our own language, but without the pressure of all the other structures we are accustomed to attend: it comes at us all voice so far as it is in control, fragmented elsewhere, wilful and arbitrary because it has not the acknowledged means to be otherwise." To say it another way, Dickinson's poems seem unanchored, even intangible, and we really cannot grab them and shake them.

In a review of Anderson's book Edwin Fussell states the problem as follows: "How is it possible to write a coherent, book-length study, unflagging in interest and illumination about a poet whose nearly two thousand poems are so repetitive and overlapping that it is sometimes impossible to tell the poems from the variations; most of whose poems, even the best, are probably unfinished (both in the proofreading and in the poetical sense) . . . . The very nature of Emily Dickinson as poet provides a nearly perpetual critical crisis. How write of a single poem for more than a page or two? None is good enough. [I should prefer to say that none is detailed enough for the usual kind of textual explication, and that the best are, in fact, so ambiguous – even irrational – so much like the voice of Blackmur's cat, that they actually defy most writing around]. Moreover, [continues Fussell], another candidate – nearly as interesting and nearly the same – waits in the wings. Nor can the critic go to the opposite extreme and write of 'Dickinson's poetry' as a whole; most of it is too feeble." Although I strongly disagree with the implicit assessment of the poet here, I think Fussell, along with Blackmur, is describing a very real problem for Dickinson critics.

The problem has been capitalized on by a recent paperback volume, *14 by Emily Dickinson,* ed. Thomas M. Davis, which prints fourteen of Dickinson's best and/or most commented on poems (the text is according to Johnson's variorum edition), along with many of the more interesting critical comments.[35] Although at times the critics' arguments with each other get in the way of the readers' understanding the poems, the work may possibly serve as a means of directing readers to the poems and the poetic themes and methods, and of making meaningful various ways of reading Dickinson. Such a many-handed treatment, as it were, may act as a partial substitute for a book-length study.

Besides the books by Anderson and Griffith, there exist several other critical works on the poet, though not so many as on Whitman. Probably the best earlier work is George Whicher's *This Was a Poet,* first published in 1938 but recently brought out in paperback.[36] Also to be mentioned are Donald E. Thackrey's *Emily Dickinson's Approach to Poetry*[37] and *Emily Dickinson: Three Views* (1960), a slim volume containing three papers on her by three poets: Archibald MacLeish, Louise Bogan, and Richard Wilbur.[38] The collection of essays in Twentieth Century Views, *Emily Dickinson,* ed. Richard B. Sewall, prints some of the most important, though not the best criticism of the poet.[39] That is, it would seem that often the name and reputation of the critic were more important than the quality of the criticism. A much larger collection of essays is *The Recognition of Emily Dickinson,* ed. Caesar R. Blake and Carlton F. Wells, published in 1964 in hard covers.[40] This work presents over forty studies of Dickinson's poetry, showing her reputation from 1890 to the present.

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[35] (Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1964).

[36] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1938; also Ann Arbor Books AA12).

[37] (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1954).

[38] (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College Press, 1960).

[39] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963).

Emily Dickinson's penchant for the paradoxical statement and the well-turned image were such that these are found not only in her poems but throughout all her writing. Her letters are consequently important for more than biographical reasons. These, edited also by Thomas Johnson in three volumes in 1957,[41] often contain what may be termed poems in the rough, although, because they were written to other people, they are in one sense more finished than most of her actual verses. That is, they were designed for a public viewing in a way most of the verses were not and they give an indication of how Dickinson presented her work to the eyes of others. The poems are in some respects closer to being a diary than to being public literature. They may even be seen as, in Dickinson's own words, her "Letter to the World/That never wrote to me." Letters and poems tend to lose their distinctive characteristics. Also she wrote many of her letters in drafts, much as one would write poems. Without doubt her prose is as deliberate as her verse, and her letters must be seen as an integral part of her literary output. Some of her best poetry is in her verses; at the same time some of the best is in her letters.

In conclusion, it may be said that although much work has been done on both Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman, we are in many ways just beginning to understand the nature of their poetry and to realize the extent of its achievements. Without doubt a great deal is still to be done, but some recent criticism of both poets would seem to be going in a direction that may be rewarding and that may correct some of the misunderstandings that have got in the way of approaching their poetry. Both poets have participated in the very origins of "modern" poetry, and both are American poets. They must be viewed and judged as such, and both modern and American literary historians must take their presences into real account.

We must remember that each poet is unique; if we realize this and cease trying to make their work fit preconceived notions, we may be able to understand them better. Likewise, if we refrain from judging before comprehending, and stop looking down at them as barbaric or unformed, we may find we have not only been able to understand their accomplishments, but also have learned something about the art and craft of poetry.

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[40] (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1964).

[41] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958).

Whitman and Dickinson: Implications for School Programs

Sister M. Judine, I.H.M.

At a recent meeting of English teachers in Detroit, someone had the courage and humility to ask, "How can we teachers be sure that we are answering correctly the questions asked of the students about the poetry in their texts?" I qualify the question as courageous because few of us have the humility to admit publicly that we are ill prepared to explicate in depth the esthetic experiences with which we are confronted and which we confront our young people with, in our daily round of teaching literature.

The only adequate answer to that question lies, in fact, in the perusal in depth – and on our own – the background source material available to us. Edmund Reiss has indicated, for example, the vast body of works extant today on the poetry of Whitman and Dickinson, with emphasis on the new approach to each. Personal understanding of both poets is relevant and vital, obviously, but even more to the point is the involvement of school administrators and supervisors in encouraging the continuing education of their teachers of English wherever access to the new is adequate and available. Our main objective, then, stemming from the scholarly advances made in the work of America's two greatest poets, can be stated: What can each of us do to our present curriculum toward incorporating of the ideas so clearly defined by Mr. Reiss in a way that will prove most esthetically sound and eminently practical?

Probably the best way to begin is by reassessing the materials offered by our present texts, together with the "study aids" and "comments" (not always too perceptive), on the two poets' work. My own quick survey of several American literature texts astonished me with the shallowness of directives for students' guidance, and I wondered whether the teachers' manuals, which I did not see, might have offered more. Without any preliminary comment, for example, on the meaning or implications of the word "unity," the question was asked, "Does the poem have unity? Discuss." (This was on "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry.") The poem, "For You, O Democracy," was followed by the query, "Is this a picture of America today?" Another, on "Cavalry Crossing a Ford" simply asked, "How is this poem a picture? Describe what you see." Nothing of the fine overtones of irony, mood, tone, or shades of meaning for all mankind in the very lack of comment by the speaker in the poem was even hinted at. More astonishing still was the lamentable lack of insight demonstrated in several texts on the meaningful poem, so apropos to the anniversary of the tragedy of our own times – "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"; "What does Whitman mean by powerful, fallen western star? How does he achieve the mood he desires? Compare it to the mood of other lyrics on death." I asked myself at once, how much does the student understand about the meaning of the word *mood* as applied to poetry? How does it differ from the meaning of *tone*? And perhaps that's what the teacher in Detroit referred to when he announced his uncertainty about the answers to student-directed questions. Even the headnotes to the poems are disconcerting. For example, " 'Song of Myself' has been called the most self-revealing in literature. It is a microcosm, i.e., a world in miniature. In what ways is the poem self-revealing?" One is then to look not for what the comment indicated, viz., the poem's integrating all the physical, mental, and spiritual qualities of man, but merely aspects that are *self-revealing*. (This would set the linguists off on a binge of possible interpretations for the term, *self-revealing*, would it not?)

Beginning with curriculum changes then, is the need for texts whose editors are in the forefront of the fresh approach to the finest poets of the transition age in Western thought. What the curriculum does not provide we can implement and enrich by our own ingenuity, beginning with our personal growth through study and inservice programs. The school may not be able to change texts every two years, but it can and must provide professional background reading for its teachers.

Among the excellent selections of books recommended by the National Council of Teachers of English in *The Education of Teachers of English for American Schools and Colleges* edited by Alfred Grommon,[1] are John Ciardi's *How Does a Poem Mean?*[2] Brooks and Warren's *Understanding Poetry,*[3] Brooks and others, *An Approach to Literature,*[4] Cleveland Thomas's chapter, "They Will Read Poetry," from *They Will Read Literature,*[5] *and Elizabeth Drew's* excellent little paperback, *Poetry: Understanding and Enjoyment.*[6]

With some background then, even the beginning teacher of Walt Whitman will have little trouble following the Council's warning:

> The teacher needs most of all to develop the ability to read and interpret for himself. Without this power he may derive little, if any, personal nourishment from that lifetime habit of reading which is one of the aims of English studies. Nor will he be able to fulfill his role as a teacher without it. Recollection of literary interpretations noted in his college courses will not suffice for his teaching secondary school classes. Often the works studied in college must be seen anew . . . (within the framework of fresh approaches and interpretations as they appear on the avant-garde horizons). . . . The teacher needs to develop the desire, skills and self-confidence essential for independent reading . . .[7]

Again, in regard to the academic preparation of the teacher, the book devotes four pages to the teacher's need for courses in poetry:

> The secondary school teacher's task is to introduce young and often, reluctant, readers to the rewards of poetry. . . . He must be himself able to read an unfamiliar poem, and, without external aids, to respond to its complex dynamics and apprehend its inner organization . . . . He will help his students to focus on poetic awareness, to evoke poetic experience, rather than to explicate the poem . . . [he] will guide his pupils into responding to rhythm, image, symbol, structure, tone. [He will lead him to see the] organic experience of the whole work.[8]

Can the curriculum planning committee help here? The numerous summer institutes throughout the country are significant of the keen interest on the part of teachers and administrators to upgrade their academic courses. Let the planners implement with inservice and cultural programs which can be readily attended at nearby universities, as well as by inviting to the school speakers who are authorities in their field. In many curricula, too, MPATI programs and ETV are employed as a further means of broadening both teachers' and students' knowledge of esthetics.

My remarks, thus far, would seem to fit any literature program; I should like, now, to direct them to the study of Whitman and Dickinson in particular, in relation to possible methods for handling them within the context of the new approach.

At a recent conference on poetry at the University of Detroit, John Ciardi stressed the idea of looking at a poem first for *structure,* instead of meaning. From the literal sense it moves through a pattern to make a new kind of experience and perception, or ordering of separate things. Let us apply this to Whitman's "There Was a Child Went Forth." Each stanza of this poem consists of a single grammatical sentence; each stanza grows increasingly longer in keeping with the growth of the child. Even the exception in stanza four, which consists of only three lines, is a vital facet of the growing process which the poet endeavors to illuminate – the "stretching and shrinking" or process of alternation in which the dominant impulse is toward growth. The poet's choice of external, sensory images combines with the structure to reflect the child's inner growth. Like the animals, plants, birds, the child is growing into being, and this by the very vital relationship with everything about him. He *becomes*, as it were, all that he sees. In keeping with the perfection of form is the series of rising and falling rhythms which correspond to the rising and falling within the experience itself. Through such considerations can Whitman's hope and physical joy – what Miss Slote, as quoted by Mr. Reiss, calls his "pagan joy and wonder in the natural world, the living cosmos," and his sense of the "generative" be understood even by students who have an aversion to poetry. It is in this sense that the exponents of the new approach extol him: he is the seed and source . . . the crucial ancestor not merely of neo-romantic and "beat" writers . . . but the American begetter of Wallace Stevens, Hart Crane, Pound, and Eliot, as R. W. B. Lewis says, in his excellent study, "Reading Walt Whitman" (Seventh Yale Conference, 1961). Within the framework of the new approach, too, the high school teacher will necessarily give greater attention to Whitman's diction. If his "full expression of the physical and spiritual realities of life" (to quote Miss Slote again), are to be thoroughly appreciated, then his careful selection of words cannot be overlooked. A case in point is the oft-abused favorite, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." The images in this poem are rich in connotative import: *heart-shaped leaves of rich green* suggests both ardor and vitality. There is a real and homely touch consonant with the note of brotherhood which informs the whole poem in the simple expression, "by the dooryard." "Ever-returning spring" expresses a note of hope, but at the same time, the united and enduring love of the country for its leader. Then, by poetic transfer, Lincoln is symbolized as a *star*. Death has removed him to a type of immortality. He is remote, admirable, sublime. "O Comrade lustrous with shining face" enhances the theme that death elevates man to greater freedom. The final image, that of the *bird*, on the other hand, may need some clarification. Whitman often spoke of poetry as "a kind of musical utterance." Hence, his intent of identifying the speaker in the poem with the hermit thrush. "Sing on, limitless brother, out of the limitless dusk" clearly expresses his concept of the poet as seer and singer. By introducing the hermit thrush in the third and ninth stanzas, in the lament and the tribute, the poet unified both imagery and structure.

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[1] NCTE Curriculum Series Volume V (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1963).

[2] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959).

[3] (3rd ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960).

[4] (4th ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts).

[5] (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1955).

[6] (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1959).

[7] Grommon, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-271.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

The mention of the lament and the tribute brings me to another point about curriculum planning. If we are really to incorporate the ideas implied in Mr. Reiss's paper regarding depth understanding of poetry in general, and of Whitman and Dickinson in particular, then provision for the individual student – his growth in perception and his understanding of genre – must be taken into consideration. Mention was made of Miller's six critical views of "Song of Myself" – as structure, poetry, mysticism, comedy, epic, and inspired prophecy, each view taking a measure of a different dimension of the poem. While this is obviously too large an order for a high school class, is it asking too much to suggest that we at least, through homogeneous grouping, provide the superior students with some knowledge of each genre's characteristics? In the "Lilacs" poem, for example, we might trace the elegiac mould: the lament, the tribute to the dead, and the final reconciliation of grief. This would be a means, too, of showing that Whitman *was* a master of form – that his work is sensitively ordered and not the heterogeneous series of "catalogs" so often imputed to it. Indeed, for the more advanced student, a comparison of "Lilacs" with Milton's "Lycidas" as a study in the elegy as a form might prove challenging and profitable. Again, to compare or contrast this poem with Eliot's "The Waste

Land" and/or something of Pound or a "beat" writer is to put to the practical test what Mr. Reiss has suggested: seeing Whitman as innovator of a whole new tradition in writing; and this is to see Whitman the *poet*, not merely the historical Whitman nor the "barbaric yawper." For the less able, we should concentrate on the poems young people enjoy: "Manahatta," "Beat, Beat Drums," "Come Up From the Fields Father," and "Wood Odors." To quote our first speaker, "We are slowly becoming aware that Whitman is a poet using art and artifice, not someone merely recording his autobiography." And quoting Paul Fussell, "We are beginning to learn how to redeem Whitman from life, from politics, from folk philosophy." It is in this sense that the teacher of Whitman must present him, and not as too many texts do – as a study in biography and literary history.

It is in this same sense, too, I believe, that the student should be introduced to Emily Dickinson. Biography in brief, yes – but as Richard Sewall of Yale advocates, we should disabuse ourselves of the legends surrounding her: "The New England Nun," "The Shy Recluse," "The Moth of Amherst," "The Forsaken Lover," "The Great Renunciation" – and steep ourselves in her poetry as it is contained in the three-volume Harvard edition of the poems and three-volume Harvard edition of the letters.

> You will find [he says], the Moth of Amherst and the Shy Recluse vanishing in the presence of a spirited, vigorous, loving, witty woman, intensely aware of life around her and of the vital issues of her day. You will find a daring experimenter in all phases of life, very conscious of her powers and glorying in them. You will find a woman of great strength and almost frightening energy. . . . [9]

Debunking the illusions about her life and personality should be followed by close scrutiny of the perfection of the body of her work. You will find that more than any other contemporary poet she preserved toward nature the attitude of the artist rather than the philosopher. She thought of the natural order as an impersonal, inexorable, mysterious force to be reverenced, accepted, studied, and copied. Her best biographers, Whicher and Johnson, note her preference for dramatic and colorful subjects: her 29 poems on the sky, 17 on landscapes, 58 on winged creatures, 10 on the poignant transition from summer to autumn. Whicher avers that "she did not set out consciously to promulgate a doctrine or to be a nature poet; rather, she found the external world so variously and intricately related to the inner world from which she drew her poetry that she could not avoid including it." Like Whitman, she, too, set up a tradition. Notes Henry Wells in his *Introduction to Emily Dickinson:* "Her imagery points the way to modern impressionism." [10] There are others, moreover, who sense her tradition as metaphysical; they compare her with Vaughn, Blake, and Donne.

As in the case of Whitman, high school texts have glossed over Dickinson's *work* in favor of the *person*. But even more – many texts contain deleted, rewritten, modernized paraphrases of Dickinson's poetry – a crime far worse than the sins against Whitman. My hopes rose last week with the appearance of a recently published book containing eight of her poems exactly as they appear in the original, i.e., the Martha Dickinson Bianchi edition. An excerpt from the introduction to the student reads:

> The reader will notice that Emily Dickinson had little use for commas and none at all for colons and semicolons. She used periods, question marks and exclamation points for full stops and dashes for everything else. The exact function of her dashes is still a question, but it is obvious that they are an integral part of her verse technique. It is difficult to make a similar claim for the apparently erratic capitalization, but it seems wise to let the work of so precise a poet stand as written. [11]

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[9] Yale Conferences, 1961.

[10] Henry Wells, *Introduction to Emily Dickinson* (New York: Hendricks House, 1947).

[11] Edward J. Gordon and others, *American Literature* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1964).

Not only is this directive a compliment to the students' intelligence and sense of truth, but it teaches them a sense of reverence for the poet's *intention* – a virtue they cannot imbibe too soon. It is to serve them meat instead of pablum – the pristine beauty of the original in place of deleted, half-digested, third-rate versions; it gives them an opportunity to find meaning for themselves. To illustrate the need for adherence to originals, I should like to quote but one example. In the ever popular, "Because I could not stop for Death," (sometimes called "The Chariot" by *helpful* editors), the word "strove" has been changed by the same helpful editors to "playing." Let me quote the lines for your consideration; this is Emily's version:

> We passed the School where Children strove
> At Recess – in the Ring –
> We passed the Fields of Gazing Grain –
> We passed the Setting Sun –

Commenting on this poem, Richard Sewall notes that "awe grows gradually as the carriage passes the children at recess *striving* in the ring, not *playing*, note, but striving with that curious concentration and obliviousness to all else with which children *work at their play*." In many cases, whole stanzas of her poems have been omitted as being extraneous to meaning; yet the new approach would demand that we examine structure if we would arrive at meaning, and we wonder what to do when only scaffolding is left us? If we are really intent, then, on scrapping the old in favor of the new, we will have to supply what our texts (and/or our curriculum) fail to give us, viz., the poems in their pristine vigor and purity.

At this point, I should like to take exception to one aspect of Mr. Reiss's remarks – namely, that for Emily, response to life is often negative – that she is "afraid of experience," thinks of living and dying as "real and frightening dichotomies." It seems to me that while a comparison of her poems on the subjects I have indicated is outside the scope of this paper, this very poem I am presently quoting is her disapproval of the usual sentimental or highly serious treatment of death displayed by other poets of her day. "Tell the truth but tell it slant," was one of her favorite maxims; and her indirection here is characteristic of her style: she feels "no clutching at life," no panic or bitter tears at parting. "A fly buzzed when I died" has the same theme: the witty, neat domesticating of a so-called horror. "The grave my little cottage is" shows her even deeper awareness that death is not the awesome thing the hell-fire sermons of her day had labeled it, but a mere passage-way to that sweet society – the final brotherhood of all men she sincerely believed in. Her slant rhymes often bother us; but these, too, should be pointed out as indicative of her belief that the artist should achieve perfection in his own peculiar, intuitive way; indeed, she sacrificed fame rather than change her creative direction.

The student, then should be brought to see the perfection of her work as a whole: the scope and variety of her themes – death, immortality, love, poetry, religion, spring and its implications of morning, renewal, and resurrection, and the many effects she achieves within the framework of the same simple measure – the ballad meter or 4/3 measure of hymnology. (The secondary stress gives an interesting effect: you take it more slowly. By ending one line with an accent and beginning the next with an accent, you slow it down. This is quite a change from the usual sing-song ballad measure. Try it for yourself with "There's a certain slant of light.")

In her poetry, too, *tone* is everything: the poet's attitude toward her subject. "A narrow Fellow in the Grass" is a fine example. The "narrow Fellow" is a euphemism: he is no more to be named than touched. The objectivity shows precise observation; the tone is one of nervousness, yet there is a humorous whistling to keep up the speaker's spirits. She is fascinated. Like so many other of her poems, it is *the effect on the speaker* that is highlighted — not the experience as such.

Perhaps it is to belabor the obvious to wind up all this by saying that the best thing the curriculum could do for its teachers of Whitman and Dickinson is to set up its program according to the team teaching plan, assigning those with majors in American literature the task of bringing to bear the works of these two great writers in the light of the new approach. But even in the most ideal setup, in the final analysis, the class teacher remains the kingpin. It is up to him to investigate the source materials now available to him; it is his personal responsibility to set about the reorientation of his present views on Whitman and Dickinson. To use Emily's phrase, ". . . the actuality of what we are and what we believe is suddenly seen to be nearly meaningless as habit, and must, to be adequately known, be translated to the modes of the imagination." Debunking old methods does take imagination, and implies involvement. Let our curricula embrace both in acceptance of Whitman's invitation of long ago:

> All the past we leave behind us . . .
> Down the edges, thru' the passes, up the mountains steep,
> Conquering, holding, daring, venturing as we go the unknown ways,
> Pioneers, O Pioneers.

Recent Scholarship on Mark Twain and Henry James

Howard W. Webb, Jr.

The sheer mass of it – this is the first fact which confronts anyone interested in recent scholarship on a major American author. A few statistics on studies of Mark Twain and Henry James will indicate the point and point up the problem. Lewis Leary's *Articles on American Literature 1900-1950* lists almost 500 items on Mark Twain and almost 400 on James.[1] The *PMLA* "Bibliographies" from 1951 through 1963 add about 500 items to the Mark Twain list and more than 600 to the James list; and in each of the last four years both authors have been represented in the "Annual Bibliography" by over fifty entries. Finally, in the twelve years between 1950 and 1961, thirty dissertations on Mark Twain and forty-five on James have been completed.

Considering what has happened in the past fourteen or fifteen years, then, one would almost like to call a halt – to float for a time on the surface of what we have; or, better still, to sit like Isabel Archer "for a long time, far into the night and still further" and assimilate this bulk. The growth of new doctoral programs, however, and the constant increase of scholarly and critical journals make any such hiatus impossible, and so from time to time we try to verify where we are.

Fortunately, for those of us interested in Mark Twain and Henry James, a number of helpful bibliographies have appeared since 1950. For a start, we have the fine bibliographical essays in *Eight American Authors* – Harry Hayden Clark's on Mark Twain and Robert E. Spiller's on Henry James.[2] These discussions. which cover work through 1954, are supplemented in the paperback reissue with "A Selective Check List" for the years 1955 through 1962. Other useful listings for Mark Twain are in Roger Asselineau's *The Literary Reputation of Mark Twain from 1910 to 1950,*[3] E. Hudson Long's *Mark Twain Handbook,*[4] and the revised edition of Edward Wagenknecht's *Mark Twain: The Man and His Work.*[5] In the case of James, we are not so fortunate; the only comparable bibliography is the selected checklist of "Criticism of Henry James," prepared by Maurice Beebe and William T. Stafford (*Modern Fiction Studies*, 1957). Excellent descriptive bibliographies are, however, now available for both authors. The eighty-two pages devoted to Mark Twain in Jacob Blanck's *Bibliography of American Literature* correct and considerably expand Merle Johnson's earlier study.[6] While the *BAL* has not yet reached James, Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence's *Bibliography of Henry James* describes, with collations, the original works; lists contributions to books and periodicals; and provides a list of James's published letters.[7]

By working through the materials set forth in these guides and by supplementing them with the current quarterly and annual listings, the scholar-teacher will find that he can get his bearings. He will learn that the great interest in Mark Twain and Henry James has led to the establishment and publication of accurate texts and collections of letters; that it has provided an enormous increase in biographical information; and that it has extended existing lines of scholarship and criticism and opened up provocative new ones.

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[1] (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954).

[2] Floyd Stovall (ed.), *Eight American Authors* (New York: Modern Languages Association, 1956; also New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1962).

[3] (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1954).

[4] (New York: Hendricks House, 1957).

[5] (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1961).

[6] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957).

[7] (2nd ed., rev.; London: R. Hart-Davis, 1961).

No development in recent years is more important than the increase in and the improvement of textual materials. In a number of instances Mark Twain editors have provided us with writings heretofore hidden away in crumbling and inaccessible files. Thus, we now have available the original letters of 1867 from Europe and the Holy Land,[8] a facsimile reproduction of Mark Twain's contributions to the *Galaxy*[9] and a selection of his pieces from the Buffalo *Express.*[10] Even more impressive are the two fine editions prepared by Henry Nash Smith and Frederick Anderson, *Mark Twain of the Enterprise*[11] and *Mark Twain: San Francisco Correspondent.*[12] The *Enterprise* volume may serve as an example of the great value these collections have: first, it provides the texts of some thirty letters and dispatches which had not previously been reprinted; second, the editors' introduction and extensive documentation extend considerably our knowledge of Mark Twain's life and thought during the years he was in Virginia City; and third, this new body of textual material allows for a more complete appraisal of his early use of humor and satire.

Still other texts have appeared for the first time. Frederick Anderson's edition of *"Ah Sin," A Dramatic Work by Mark Twain and Bret Harte* is the only example thus far published of Twain's efforts to achieve success on the stage.[13] Franklin Rogers' edition of *Simon Wheeler, Detective*[14] gives the text of an unfinished novel from which Mark Twain borrowed specific incidents and characters for use in *Huckleberry Finn.* Finally, notice should be taken of *Letters from the Earth,* the collection of sketches and other short pieces prepared by Bernard DeVoto.[15] Unfortunately, the texts of these items are apparently often inaccurate and the dating of their composition is frequently vague. These matters are not, as Paul Baender recently pointed out *(American Literature,* 1964), insignificant; accuracy and precision, even in the case of such a minor sketch as "The Lowest Animal," lead to a surer understanding of Mark Twain's creative ability and of the bases and direction of his thought.

Happily, we may look forward to having, within the next few years, an edition, or editions, of the writings of Mark Twain which will make careful use of modern scholarship and editing techniques.[16] One edition is being prepared under an editorial board consisting of Walter Blair, William M. Gibson, Paul Baender, William Todd, and John C. Gerber as chairman. It will include more of Mark Twain's printed writings than any previous collection and will take into account all manuscript readings where manuscript exists. Among the editors of individual volumes are Walter Blair, *Huckleberry Finn;* Edgar M. Branch, the short early fiction; Leon Dickinson, *Innocents Abroad;* and Hamlin Hill, *The Gilded Age.* With harmonious type faces and formats, but without any duplication of material, the University of California Press is preparing a twelve-volume edition that will bring into print everything of interest that remains in the unpublished Mark Twain Papers and other collections of manuscripts. The editorial board for this edition consists of Henry Nash Smith, Walter Blair, Donald Coney, and Frederick Anderson as supervising editor. The California edition will devote two volumes to the *Notebooks* and four volumes to correspondence. William M. Gibson is preparing all the written versions of *The Mysterious Stranger,* and Walter Blair is editing documents relating to *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn.* These projects will not, of course, revolutionize Mark Twain scholarship, but the existence of a uniform modern edition of the works will facilitate their study. And the publication at last of full and accurate texts of *The Mysterious Stranger* and of such documents as the reminiscences of Hannibal entitled "Villagers of 1840-3" will have an important bearing on future study of the last two decades of Mark Twain's life and work.

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[8] Daniel Morley McKeithan (ed.), *Traveling with the Innocents Abroad* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

[9] Bruce R. McElderry, Jr. (ed.), *Contributions to the Galaxy, 1868-1871* (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1961).

[10] Henry Duskis (ed.), *The Forgotten Writings of Mark Twain* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1963).

[11] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957).

[12] (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1957).

[13] (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1961).

[14] (New York: New York Public Library, 1963).

[15] (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962).

[16] For information about editions of Mark Twain and Henry James, I am indebted to Frederick Anderson, John C. Gerber, and William M. Gibson.

We cannot in the foreseeable future expect a comparable completeness in the case of Henry James. The reason is well stated in the recent report of the Center for Editions of American Authors:

> A collected edition of everything that Henry James wrote is probably not possible now, and it may never be possible until the day — it seems far off — when students of James agree on the "best" versions of his much revised stories and novels. In different stories the choice of copy-text might run from manuscript, to magazine version, to first edition, to revised editions, to the finally revised text of the New York edition (*PMLA,* 1963).

Meanwhile, a number of collections of essays, reviews, and travel sketches have been published since 1950. Leon Edel has edited *The Complete Plays of Henry James*[17] and has published six of the projected twelve volumes of *The Complete Tales of Henry James.*[18] Edel's five-volume edition of "Letters," exclusive of the correspondence with William James and with Howells, which will appear as separate volumes, will be published by Harvard University Press. Finally, Charles Scribner's Sons is bringing out the New York edition again by photo-offset printing.

Let me mention one more point about textual materials before we turn our attention to biographical developments. The growth in scholarship and in the publishing of paperbacks has substantially aided the instructor who must select texts which are both accurate and reasonably priced. Fifteen years ago, no edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* really met these criteria, and the instructor would have looked in vain for a suitable text of a work like *Roughing It.* Today, he may choose among ten satisfactory and inexpensive editions of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* including the excellent one edited by Henry Nash Smith[19] and the facsimile version of the first edition prepared by Hamlin Hill and Walter Blair.[20] He will find five good editions of *A Connecticut Yankee* and three of *Roughing It.* The same happy situation exists in the case of works by Henry James. In 1950, only nine novels or tales were available in inexpensive formats, and both editions of *The Ambassadors* had chapters I and II of Book Eleventh in reversed order. Today, well over fifteen novels and tales are separately available in paperback; the chapter problem in *The Ambassadors* is, in all editions I have checked, corrected; and in addition, a number of nonfictional texts, including Blackmur's collection of the "Prefaces" and Matthiessen and Murdock's edition of the *Notebooks,* can be obtained for a small outlay.

Falling somewhere between texts and biographies are collections of correspondence. As I have already indicated, the greatest riches still lie in store, particularly in the case of Henry James. Even so, Leon Edel's *Selected Letters* contains one hundred and twenty letters, about half of which are here printed for the first time;[21] in collaboration with Gordon Ray, Mr. Edel has also edited *Henry James and H. G. Wells: A Record of Their Friendship, Their Debate on the Art of Fiction, and Their Quarrel.*[22] Mark Twain letters have been more fully exploited. Two edited collections edited by Dixon Wecter before his death should be mentioned. *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks* shows us more than we had known before about the young man who came East to find a career and a wife – and a good deal, too, about the years beyond.[23] *The Love Letters of Mark Twain*[24] has been called by E. Hudson Long "one of the most revealing biographical items to appear since the Paine biography." Certainly it provides an intimate look into the moods, emotions, and activities of Mark Twain between 1868 and 1904, and it finally adjusts the askew image of Olivia Langdon presented by Van Wyck Brooks in 1920. The major collection within the last fifteen years is, of course, the two-volume *Mark Twain-Howells Letters,* with over half the letters here published for the first time.[25] These volumes deepen our understanding of both men and of the relationship between them. In their correspondence they discussed their labors, joint and independent, and shared personal joys and sorrows. Mark Twain's considerable and continuing reliance on Howells' judgment is further underlined as is their mutual interest in playwriting. Finally, the notes and comments of the editors, Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson, furnish what one reviewer has aptly called "an unusually rich and indispensable background of information not only about the two men and their mutual concerns but also about their contemporaries and the political and social events of their day" (*American Literature,* 1961).

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[17] (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949).

[18] (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962-).

[19] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Edition A15, 1959).

[20] *The Art of Huckleberry Finn* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962).

[21] (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc., 1955).

[22] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

For all these riches, Mark Twain has not yet been made the subject of a full-scale, modern biography. In the past fifteen years, however, scholars have made detailed studies of various periods of his life. At the start of this period, Kenneth R. Andrews published *Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Hartford Circle,* an examination of the social and intellectual environment in Hartford, where Mark Twain lived from 1871 until 1891.[26] These years, when his family was growing and he had the companionship and advice of such people as Joe Twichell and Charles Dudley Warner, were perhaps the happiest and most productive of his career; and, as Andrews makes clear, he was not a crude, restive westerner in the midst of this genteel *milieu:* he thoroughly enjoyed being a part of it and became one of its leaders. A very different segment of his life is presented in a book published in 1964, Paul Fatout's *Mark Twain in Virginia City.*[27] Professor Fatout's book supersedes all earlier studies of this period of Mark Twain's life and makes a fine companion volume to Smith and Anderson's edition of his contributions to the *Territorial Enterprise.* Working almost entirely from original sources, Mr. Fatout has discovered a number of previously unknown articles and newspaper items, and he has detailed the lively, troublesome quality of these years when Orion Clemens' younger brother was first making a name for himself as "Mark Twain."

The major biography is Dixon Wecter's *Sam Clemens of Hannibal.*[28] While Wecter's death made what was to have been the first volume of a definitive biography into another period study, it is an indispensable one. As editor of the Mark Twain Papers, Wecter had access to all unpublished materials; he also made extensive use of newspapers and county and municipal records. As a result, his book goes far beyond both Paine and Miss Brashear in completeness and accuracy. Several chapters are devoted to the families of John Marshall Clemens and Jane Lampton and to the early years of their marriage. The autobiographical element in Mark Twain's fiction is underlined by a number of details, the revelations, for example, that Huck Finn is based in part on Bence Blankenship as well as on his younger brother Tom and that Colonel Sherburn's shooting of Boggs derives from an episode which occurred in Hannibal in 1845. Another significant feature of Wecter's work is the use it makes of some of the manuscript versions of *The Mysterious Stranger* and of such as yet unpublished materials as "Villagers of 1840-3" and "Hellfire Hotchkiss," an unfinished story about a tomboy. The effect is to cast light not only upon the Hannibal years but also upon the crucial period between 1897 and 1905 when these materials were written.

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[23] (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1949).
[24] (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).
[25] Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (eds.). (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960).
[26] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
[27] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964).
[28] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952; also Sentry 9, 1961).

Wecter's book and the others indicate how enormously valuable a full-scale, modern biography of Mark Twain would be. The point is made again when one considers the three volumes thus far published of Leon Edel's *Henry James.*[29] Lyon Richardson is certainly right in noting, in a review of the first volume, that while the author "has selected carefully from an almost oppressive abundance of material in order to emphasize what he has considered to be the most revealing and dynamic experiences," his "selections and their importance will undoubtedly become matters for long debate, item by item" (*American Literature,* 1954). The fact remains, nevertheless, that when Edel's biography is completed, we shall have a unified presentation of the life of Henry James, one that is based upon a searching out and using of unpublished as well as published materials. In the absence of such a work, we are inclined to assume that the various books and articles available have supplied all the significant data; but as a modern biographer shapes his narrative into coherence, his diligence and insights almost invariably uncover new and important facts. Two such matters in Professor Edel's volumes may serve as examples.

In *Notes of a Son and Brother,* James speaks of a "horrid even if an obscure hurt" which he received, he implies, in the spring of 1861. James's account of this affair bristles, as Edel says, "with strange ambiguities," and his "use of the words *intimate, odious, horrid, catastrophe, obscure* and the phrase *most entirely personal*" (I, 175) allows the reader to imagine the worst. Thus, a theory emerged in the 1930's and 1940's, amounting almost to a proven fact, that the hurt had been nothing less than castration; and some interpretations of James's work were based on the presumed psychological results of the accident. Edel shows conclusively that the "obscure hurt" occurred on October 28, 1861, when James was helping to put out a blaze in a large stable; that it was a back injury, probably a slipped disc, a sacroiliac or muscular strain; and that the effects of this injury on James's psyche were most likely related to his feeling of guilt at not participating in the Civil War and to a possible tendency to identify with his father, who had lost a leg in a similar accident. The second example involves Constance Fenimore Woolson, an American novelist whom James first met in Florence in the spring of 1880. She was already an admirer of his writings, and now she was charmed by the man himself; James, on his side, seems to have been equally charmed, or at least flattered by this authoress, who was three years his senior. At any rate, they saw one another during this period of their acquaintance with, according to Edel, "a frequency that elsewhere might have been considered indiscreet" (II, 411-12). James visited with her again in Rome in 1881 and saw her in England from time to time between 1883 and 1886. In the winter and spring of 1887 he lived quietly near her outside Florence, and he met her at intervals thereafter on the continent and in England. Edel speculates, surely correctly, that their attachment was ever a virtuous one; but the evidence in her letters to him, his to her have apparently been destroyed, leaves little doubt that she was in love with him. When she fell or threw herself to her death in Venice in January, 1894, James was distraught, although her presumed suicide as much as the fact of her death seems to have been what troubled him. The point, finally, is not that we have caught the discreet and detached Henry James in a love affair, even a platonic one; the point is that from a knowledge of this "virtuous attachment" one may, as Edel convincingly demonstrates, gain further insights into "The Aspern Papers," "The Beast in the Jungle," "The Altar of the Dead," and that longer story of another death in Venice, *The Wings of the Dove.*

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[29] (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company 1953, 1962).

The materials thus far mentioned provide a deep stream indeed, furnish more than enough for an all-night vigil; but we need not be overwhelmed. The textual increment and improvement have actually simplified rather than complicated the task of evaluating the careers of Mark Twain and Henry James; for we can now see major works in a larger and more clearly defined context. Similarly, the increased biographical detail that has been made available need not clutter our efforts to understand; rather as I have tried to suggest, this data can be used to order and to enhance our insights into both the creators and their creations. Nor need we lose our way among the mass of articles and monographs, because, for all its bulk, recent scholarship has tended to follow a few dominant patterns.

A chief feature of Mark Twain scholarship has been the demonstration and the analysis of his literary artistry. Two books, both published in 1950, signalled the new direction: Gladys Bellamy's *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist*[30] and Edgar Branch's *The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain.*[31] While Miss Bellamy organizes her discussion about four fundamental ideas – moralism, determinism, pessimism, and patheticism – which she sees as the "primary bases" of Mark Twain's thought, her discussions of his style and of certain of his characteristic devices are what render her book most valuable. She was the first to point out in detail that Mark Twain's much praised style derives certain of its excellencies from its idiomatic phrasing, its colloquial ease, its long rhythms, and its vivid vocabulary. Also, she called attention to the power of his imagery, especially to its striking pictorial quality – the Nevada horse, for example, that walked "with a martial stride that defied all imitation except with stilts"; the old slouch hat of Nicodemus Dodge, in *A Tramp Abroad,* which "hung limp and ragged about his eyes like a bug-eaten cabbage leaf." She showed that as early as his Sandwich Islands letters Mark Twain was employing the device of magnification and minification of the human race, a means which received its fullest use in *The Mysterious Stranger;* and in what is still the most thorough discussion of his travel books, she examined his inclination to see reality as ugly and to view beauty as dreamlike and cited his apparent inability to resolve this conflict.

Edgar Branch's work is very different. Commencing with two comic verses which appeared in the *Missouri Courier* in 1849, it traces Mark Twain's shifts and growth as a writer until the moment that he set sail on the *Quaker City* in 1867. As the first to study this writing in a chronological and thorough fashion, Branch showed that it was from the start comic in purpose, although it made no attempt at serious comment on life, and that by the time he joined the *Enterprise,* Mark Twain had begun to cultivate the literary ground which would later be helpful in creating character. In conforming to Washoe standards, Branch believes, Mark Twain violated many of the qualities for which his mature style is praised; and in Virginia City he revealed weaknesses which continued to plague him, among them a tendency toward burlesque and an inconsistent use of comic poses. In the California and Sandwich Islands sketches and letters, he developed further various comic techniques, his satiric attacks on shams and sentimentality became sharper, and a special enriching quality of primary significance, his strong sense of the past, became apparent.

Others have followed the lead of Miss Bellamy and Mr. Branch. John Gerber has traced "The Relation Between Point of View and Style in the Works of Mark Twain" (*English Institute Essays,* 1959), arguing convincingly that "Twain's style is so intimately dependent upon his point of view that it flourishes only to the extent that the point of view is detached and sharply restricted" (p. 143). Gerber has also written an effective study of the comic poses – of superiority and of inferiority – which Twain employs to break up old habits of perception and to affect the variety, the continuousness, and the economy of his humor ("Mark Twain's Use of the Comic Pose," *PMLA*, 1962). Still another study of style is Leo Marx's excellent article, "The Pilot and the Passenger: Landscape Convention and the Style of Huckleberry Finn" (*American Literature*, 1956). Through a careful analysis of three descriptions of dawn – one in *Tom Sawyer*, one in *Life on the Mississippi*, and one in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* – Marx shows how Mark Twain worked his way to a point of view and thus a style which allowed him, at least in the last instance, to resolve the conflict between ugliness and beauty. Finally, anyone interested in Mark Twain's style should see the brief but exceedingly helpful comments in Henry Nash Smith's introduction to the Riverside Edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

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[30] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).
[31] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950).

A major structural device is yet another element of Mark Twain's artistry which has received detailed study in recent years. Frank Baldanza first called attention to it in describing "The Structure of *Huckleberry Finn*" (*American Literature*, 1955). He argued that Mark Twain, probably unconsciously, constructed whole passages of the novel on "an esthetic principle of repetition and variation," what E. M. Forster calls "rhythm." Several years later Walter Blair, in *Mark Twain and Huck Finn*,[32] and Franklin Rogers, in *Mark Twain's Burlesque Patterns As Seen in the Novels and Narratives 1855-1885*,[33] gave further support to Baldanza's proposition by demonstrating that the juxtaposing of humorous and serious bits was a device quite consciously used and that it could be found throughout Mark Twain's work. Rogers, furthermore, indicated that it was related to two other major structural devices: one a "character-axis formed by the companionship of a sophisticated and sentimental gentleman and an unregenerate and insensitive associate," and the other a "narrator who, unsophisticated and unregenerate at the moment of narration, was, however, sophisticated and sentimental at the outset of the adventures to be narrated" (p. 27).

Studies in Mark Twain's artistry reached a climax with Henry Nash Smith's monograph, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer*,[34] which is itself the culmination of Smith's already mentioned editorial labors and of a brilliant series of articles (e.g., "Mark Twain's Images of Hannibal: From St. Petersburg to Esseldorf," *Texas Studies in English*, 1958; "That Hideous Mistake of Poor Clemens," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 1955). Concentrating on Mark Twain's handling of problems of style and structure in nine of his major works, Smith shows how from the 1860's to the 1880's Mark Twain developed a vernacular perspective and a vernacular persona, that is, a complex of character, style, theme, and authorial values by means of which he could express his hostility to the prevailing cult of gentility. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is, of course, the nearest approach to a full embodiment of the vernacular perspective; but its ideal of the good life was too special, too vulnerable, too threatened by every contact with society. After 1885, Smith believes, Mark Twain was less and less able to sustain his vernacular values; and starting with *A Connecticut Yankee*, which swings between optimism and pessimism, he engaged in the creation of a new perspective and persona. This was a "transcendent figure" – the Yankee, Puddn'head Wilson, and Satan in *The Mysterious Stranger* are examples – who had more than ordinary powers, was isolated by his intellectual superiority to the community, and was contemptuous of mankind in general. Smith concludes:

> Satan's destruction of the mimic world he has created is the symbolic gesture of a writer who can no longer find any meaning in man or society. Mark Twain's only refuge is to identify himself with a supernatural spectator for whom mankind is but a race of vermin, hardly worth even contempt. And this marks the end of his career as a writer, for there was nothing more to say (p. 188).

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[32] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960).

[33] (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1960).

[34] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

Mark Twain may have stopped, but the scholars have not. In addition to these general studies of his artistry, a vast number of more restricted examinations have also been published. These have tended to cluster about the major works of fiction. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, of course, leads all the rest; and Walter Blair's book, which contains an exhaustive listing of Huck Finn Studies, and his fine study of when the novel was written (*American Literature,* 1958) surely stand at the head of these more restricted examinations. The other works which have been most considered are: *A Connecticut Yankee,* whose composition has been carefully documented by Howard Baetzhold (*American Literature,* 1961) and whose meanings and contradictions have been illuminated by such critics as James M. Cox (*Yale Review,* 1960), Allen Guttmann (*New England Quarterly,* 1960), and Charles Holmes (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* 1962); *Puddn'head Wilson,* which has come to be regarded, for all its weaknesses, as a near-major work; and *The Mysterious Stranger,* the manuscripts and composition of which have recently been well analyzed by John S. Tuckey in *Mark Twain and Little Satan.*[35]

Finally, I want to mention three book-length studies which treat special aspects of Mark Twain's thought and work. In a class by itself is Louis J. Budd's *Mark Twain: Social Philosopher,* the fullest and most careful work on this topic, which traces the change in Mark Twain's sociopolitical outlook from that of a Whig to that of an apolitical pessimist.[36] The other two are studies in the history of ideas written by scholars who are also keenly sensitive to literary values. Roger B. Salomon's *Twain and the Image of History* traces the increasing conflict in Mark Twain's work between his belief in progress and his view that, because man's nature is radically defective, civilizations merely rise and fall.[37] In *The Innocent Eye: Childhood in Mark Twain's Imagination,* Albert E. Stone, Jr., analyzes the ways in which Mark Twain used the child as a moral commentator on adult society and indicates the importance that the child's view continued to have, even in the later works.[38]

The case for Mark Twain's artistry is certainly made, although it is doubtless still incomplete. The case for the artistry of Henry James was won well before 1950, although Maxwell Geismar, in *Henry James and the Jacobites,* has recently sought a new trial;[39] and the articles and monographs of the past few years have been chiefly "readings": critical analyses of individual works or discussions of themes, symbols, and image patterns which implicitly assume the author's literary mastery.

A few works, however, have been devoted to other matters, and I want first to take note of these. Quentin Anderson's *The American Henry James* argues that Henry James, Sr.'s, Swedenborgianism became the basis for a complex allegory in his son's novels.[40] When this thesis first appeared in an earlier series of articles, it provoked a rather violent reaction in some quarters; and it is today rejected by most James scholars. I believe, nevertheless, that it is a valuable part of the attack on the "view that James's consciousness or sensibility had no moral sanction other than taste" (*Eight American Authors,* p. 418). W. H. Tilley's study of *The Background of the Princess Casamassima,* a thorough examination of James's reliance on reports of revolutionary activities which appeared in the London *Times* in the 1880's, is one of the very few such source studies yet made.[41] This list would not be complete without mention of René Wellek's excellent article, "Henry James's Literary Theory and Criticism" (*American Literature,* 1958), the best discussion of this topic since Blackmur's analysis of the "Prefaces," to which it takes some exception. Wellek presents a convincing brief for the view that James was the "best

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[35] (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1963).
[36] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962).
[37] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961).
[38] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961).
[39] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963).
[40] (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957).
[41] (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1961).

American critic of the nineteenth century," the one who "is brimful of ideas and critical concepts and has a well-defined theory and point of view which allow him to characterize sensitively and evaluate persuasively a wide range of writers" (p. 295).

Four book-length studies may serve as examples of the kinds of "readings" which have been made of James's works. Edwin T. Bowden, in *The Themes of Henry James,* suggests that James's themes are dramatized and defined by the visual arts.[42] He, too, takes exception to the view that James's consciousness had no moral sanction other than taste. "If the value of art lies in its relationship to human life," Bowden concludes, "one means of defining the moral position of an individual is to show his particular view of the arts: is he sensitive to the human values suggested there, and so indirectly to life itself, or does he ignore with a sort of moral blindness the true values in favor of a sterile estheticism?" (pp. 114-15). Leo B. Levy's *Versions of Melodrama*[43] analyzes the similarities between melodrama – the strategy of threatening "the good in order to lend greater surprise to its perennial denials of the power of evil" (p. 2) – and James's novels to show how melodrama entered into James's moral and esthetic world, how it functioned for him as "an expression of his overwrought imagination of the world of experience as he felt it to exist outside himself" (p. 9). Charles G. Hoffman's useful study, *The Short Novels of Henry James,* points out both the artistic qualities of the short novels themselves and also the nature and importance of their relationship to the major works.[44] Lastly, in *The Image of Europe in Henry James,* Christof Wegelin examines the way in which James's analysis of the "international situation" served him as a means of coming to grips with the matter of American character and with the larger question of the nature of morality and its relation to manners and to civilization.[45]

Each of these books provides perceptive analyses of some of James's novels and tales, of his themes and images, and of his view of moral situations. In a class by itself, however, is Oscar Cargill's *The Novels of Henry James.*[46] In discussions of twenty-two of the novels Cargill not only provides worthwhile readings of the works and penetrating accounts of their characters and situations, but he also deals illuminatingly with many of the sources of the novels and furnishes in each case an extensive survey of the scholarship on each work. A student of James can do no better than to begin his study with Cargill's work.

One of the most interesting developments in recent James scholarship has been the examination of his imagery, a task which has also involved consideration of his revisions. Miriam Allott's "Symbol and Image in the Works of Henry James" (*Essays in Criticism,* 1953) was one of the first important studies in this field. A much fuller study is Alexander Holder-Barrell's *The Development of Imagery and Its Functional Significance in Henry James's Novels.*[47] Holder-Barrell divides and subdivides James's images into a number of categories and makes the point that in the later novels the images fall clearly into identifiable groups and are based on the author's inner vision of his characters. In more limited terms, a similar point is made in Lotus Snow's article, "The Disconcerting Poetry of Mary Temple: A Comparison of the Imagery of *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Wings of the Dove* (*New England Quarterly,* 1958). Snow shows that in the earlier novel the imagery functions chiefly to characterize the novel's people and their relationships, but that in the later one "four groups of thematic images . . . systematically developed, dominate the novel" (p. 324) and serve to enhance its texture and, through their allusiveness, to deepen its meaning. Other scholars have considered how, in his revisions, James altered the imagery of his novels. To cite only one case, I. Traschen, in his article "Henry James and the Art of Revision" (*Philological Quarterly*, 1956), argues that a study of the revisions made for *The American* in the New York edition reveals how "James enlarged on character and theme through the use of recurrent images" and how "images in the original were transformed into emphatic symbols" (p. 46). Opposed to this favorable view, however, is that of Roy Harvey Pearce, in his introduction to the Riverside Edition of the novel. Pearce insists that James confused his story when he introduced such changes into the text of 1877.

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[42] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1956).

[43] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957).

[44] (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1957).

[45] (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1958).

[46] (New York: Macmillan Company, 1961).

[47] Cooper Monographs on English and American Literature, No. 3 (Bern: Franke, 1959).

And so we return almost to the point at which we started: the value and importance of the texts themselves. I regret all the trends and works I have had to omit: the discussions of Mark Twain's humorous strategies by Pascal Covici and Kenneth Lynn; Morton D. Zabel's brilliant introduction to his edition of *In the Cage and Other Stories;*[48] the many useful collections of articles and chapters such as the Crowell Casebooks and the Prentice-Hall Twentieth Century Views on Twain and James. Of the making of many books – and articles and notes and arguments and rejoinders – there is, as we all know, no end.

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[48] (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1958).

Mark Twain and Henry James: Implications for School Programs

Frank H. Townsend

The existence of critical interest in Henry James and Mark Twain is not likely to have much of an immediate effect upon the college undergraduate English major and even less upon the high school student. I believe that the position of these writers in the English literature program ought to be reconsidered and that such reconsideration will suggest changes in the content and the approach in secondary school American literature courses, changes in the policies of school libraries, and changes in the preparation of English teachers. And if the content of secondary school English courses is to be changed, then questions are also raised concerning possible encroachment upon the content of college literary study.

If, in discussing the implications of Howard Webb's paper, I speak often of the school where I teach, please attribute this habit, not to pride, but to the limitation of my horizons. Inevitably I think of the implications of such scholarship in terms of my own school, my own classes, my own students. I have found the report of recent Henry James and Mark Twain scholarship very interesting because of the great changes that we have made in the past three years in our American literature courses. We have increased our emphasis upon American literature, we have focused our attention upon a few major American writers, and we have organized the study so as to emphasize independent, individual study.

Therefore, the first implication of the report that was of interest to me was the evidence of recent scholarship that these two writers both deserve to be classified as "major American authors." This evaluation should entitle these writers to at least some consideration for a greater place in our literature program than they have held. Of course, Mark Twain is well established as a writer of something more than children's stories of adventure and humor, but James has been generally overlooked, disregarded, or rejected by the high school English teacher and by the editors of the anthologies of American literature which for so long have served as guides for the teachers of eleventh grade English courses. The inclusion of twenty-six pages of James in one of the new eleventh grade American literature anthologies may be an indication that new guide lines are being set up and that James's writings may now have received the stamp of approval. The availability of paperback editions of both writers' works has encouraged many high school teachers to teach complete novels by Mark Twain and perhaps even by James. Several of James's novels have been used successfully in our school, both in honors classes and in average ability groups. There are, perhaps, some major American writers whose works should not be taught in high school classes; however, these two writers have both written novels which are suitable for such classes and which might be substituted for other literary works written by lesser figures in American literature. In those courses where complete novels by Mark Twain and James are studied, the existence of a body of scholarship may have very little significance to the student, but the teacher may well feel that he should become familiar with some of the basic biographical and critical studies of these two writers.

In schools which are not committed to the use of the graded literature anthologies, it may be possible to introduce the study of Mark Twain or James in a different context. In our program, for example, major American writers are studied in an elective twelfth grade course. I have often felt that the traditional placement of American literature in the eleventh grade and English literature in the twelfth grade carried some suggestion that American writers were writing for a less mature reader and that their works constituted a sort of preparatory course, a reading-readiness course, that should precede the study of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton in the twelfth grade. I am aware that many other secondary schools have also broken away from the conventional eleventh grade survey of American literature. Our course is built around a series of major American writers, each studied by the class for several weeks. One or two stories by the author are read by the entire class and discussed in close detail in the classroom. Then students are assigned readings in the critical and biographical materials related to the author and the book they have studied. We started such assignments a few years ago when casebooks first became available, but subsequently our library has acquired much additional critical and biographical material about the writers we have selected. *"The Turn of the Screw" Casebook* has been a good starting point for James, and there are several excellent collections of critical articles on Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* that can be understood and used by high school students. Student reports to the class on such articles evoke interest and discussion because these reports relate to the interpretation of a book with which the class has become familiar. Following such reports, the students have a reading period in which they follow a program of individual study of other books by or about some author. Final papers of the students are based upon both class study and independent study, and the more interesting of these papers are read to and discussed by the class. Because of the fact that all of the students have become fairly familiar with the author's writings, the class response to these reports is much more active than it would be if the reports were based entirely upon personal reading interests of individual students.

Such a program implies not only that the writer is of major importance but also that there exists a significant body of biographical and critical material that can be understood by high school students and that relates to the kinds of literary understanding that should be developed at this stage of their education rather than later. If such a body of material does exist, then it is necessary to have a library policy that encourages the acquisition of that material. This means the building of special collections of works by and about those authors whom the classes are studying. For many high schools, with limited library facilities, such collections result in what may seem to be unbalanced libraries. For example, our school library now has fifty-five items in the Twain collection and forty-five items in the James collection, and we are constantly adding to these collections. This number of items is necessary in order to permit all students in the course to have access to the books. Even so, it is necessary to put many of these books on reserve and to stagger the assignments so that different sections of the same course will not need the materials at the same time. Materials in the high school library can be supplemented by interlibrary loans, especially when such a program of individual study is first being tried. We have been able to borrow materials from our community public library and from the nearby Lake Forest College library. Borrowed materials that have seemed particularly useful to the high school students become a basis for making out lists of books for the school library to acquire permanently. If our students go directly to other libraries, we attempt to find out what materials they have found, and we purchase such materials if they have proved valuable.

Although at first we were using casebooks in the classroom, we have felt recently that it would be better to have the library acquire the special collections that I have described in order to give the students more experience in the use of the library. In other units of the course, where the students are making an intensive study of a single literary work rather than an extensive study of an author, we have required the students to buy a casebook including both the text of the novel and a collection of critical essays. This approach, however, is more suitable for a high school honors or Advanced Placement course than for an average ability group or a heterogeneous class. The controlled use of source material, which seems to be implied by having all the students purchase "casebooks," is not the objective of the "major writers" approach.

Although our department abandoned the "Senior Research Project" years ago, we have instructed our students in the proper use of library resources and have required of them, during all four years of high school, papers based upon source materials available in the library. The papers on Mark Twain and James that we have them write in the twelfth grade course are thus a culmination of this four-year program. These reports have some of the values of the old "research papers" and almost none of the faults. The student is writing about a subject that he, his teacher, and the rest of the class know something about, and he knows that he will be held to account by his teacher and classmates for his ideas – not just for form, mechanics, and organization. Consequently, the papers often contain good and responsible thinking.

So we come to a third implication. If James and Mark Twain should be studied in the schools, if some of the body of their writings and the scholarship about such writings should be made available to students through their school libraries, then I think that college students who are going to become high school English teachers should learn more about these authors than they are likely to learn in most undergraduate English major programs. Here seems to be the bottleneck, especially with regard to Henry James. The scholarship described by Mr. Webb suggests rather strongly that the study of these two writers has achieved academic respectability. It indicates that in the graduate schools and among critics and literary historians these authors are taken seriously and that particularly there is a surge of interest in Henry James. I do not see evidence that undergraduate English programs have reflected this new-found respectability. As I interview prospective English teachers, I do find that the Brooks and Warren revolution has had its effect upon them; I do find that some have taken a course purporting to introduce them to some of the modern approaches to language; I do find that there has been some response to our plea to put a little more emphasis upon composition courses at the college level. I do not find that their preparation shows an emphasis upon American literature that is at all commensurate with the emphasis placed upon it at either the graduate level or the secondary school level. Thus a bottleneck exists, and the high school student may get a few tricklings of James and Mark Twain in his anthology of American literature, or he may hear a few gurglings from his teacher, not about Henry James, to be sure, but perhaps about Mark Twain – such remarks as "the river is a kind of a god to Huckleberry Finn," "the ending is unsatisfactory," and "the movement of the river goes contrary to the symbolic movement of the plot." We need teachers who know the James and Mark Twain literature well enough to guide high school students in their study of these writers, not merely to give them prefabricated judgments. Since approximately one half of the literature taught in high schools is American literature, we should welcome the placement of greater emphasis upon this part of the English teacher's background. Parenthetically I should comment that some of the recent applicants from the University of Illinois, studying in the shadow of our NCTE headquarters and under the supervision of James Squire, have shown substantial background in American literature. It was, in fact, one of these young teachers who introduced the study of Henry James into our American literature course and who first experimented with the use of critical materials about James and Mark Twain in her classes of "average ability" twelfth grade students.

The plea for more attention to these writers in the program of the college English major is not special pleading on behalf of those who are preparing for graduate work or for high school teaching. It represents, rather, the belief that there have been several major American authors, including James and Mark Twain, whose literary merit entitles them to a larger place in the curriculum of our American colleges. The literary and intellectual issues raised by the close study of James and Mark Twain are certainly challenging enough and significant enough to warrant several weeks of study by English majors. Perhaps we do see signs of interest in these writers, although they seem to be entering into the college curriculum by devious ways, such as through the use of the casebooks on Mark Twain and James in freshman English courses, or through history or American Studies courses.

Although, on the one hand, I complain that there should be more of James and Twain taught in college, I know that on the other hand there are many college teachers who complain about the high school English teachers "stealing" their material. Just so does the high school teacher complain, in turn, about the junior high school teacher introducing *Julius Caesar* in the eighth grade – "The students aren't ready for it, they don't understand it, and my tenth grade unit on *Julius Caesar* is now spoiled!" Some of the complaints now being heard from college English teachers are legitimate. There is good reason to doubt the value of teaching some of the later works of James and Mark Twain to high school children. Most of these readers are unattuned to James's later style; and many of them are *too* responsive to the bitter tone of Mark Twain's later works to remain objective and academic in their discussion. Yet some books, like *Huckleberry Finn*, can be read and reread: in grade school, in high school, in college, and twice in graduate school. Last year I taught *Huckleberry Finn* in four different courses, in four different ways, and for four different purposes.

I think that many of the recent complaints about encroachment on college materials have related to books read in Advanced Placement courses. Such high school courses are intended to be college level courses, and the objective of the student in such a course is to gain college credit. We have used the casebooks on *The Turn of the Screw*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *King Lear*, and *The Red Badge of Courage* in our Advanced Placement English course. Such materials have been of great help to those of us who are trying to teach a college level course in a school with a high school library. Admittedly, with such materials available, there is the tendency to use them in the regular high school courses. Whenever such practices cause secondary students to read unsuitable materials, we should try to avoid such encroachment.

The college teacher is likely to select a book because of the quality, the literary significance, the characteristics of an author, a period, or a literary type which it illustrates, and because of the challenging nature of the intellectual problems of criticism and analysis which it presents to students. The high school teacher is likely to be concerned with some other considerations involving the *student*: Is he intellectually and emotionally mature enough to read this book? Have his previous educational experiences given him a basis for responding intelligently to this book? Are there problems in this book which will stimulate a good class discussion among the students? Will local religious, moral, political, and social biases prevent an intelligent discussion of this book? In teaching novels by James or Mark Twain to high school students, the teacher is likely to be trying to find ways to help the student *identify* with the characters or situations. We have found that *The Turn of the Screw*, *Daisy Miller*, *The American*, and *Washington Square* have produced a generally good individual and classroom response among twelfth grade students. Of course, *Huckleberry Finn* always produces a response.

The older high school students seem to respond particularly to ethical, psychological, and sociological elements in literature. They have been most interested in some of the articles on James and Twain that suggest how personal experiences of the writers have affected their stories. Edmund Wilson's interpretation of the Governess in *The Turn of the Screw* provoked very active responses. Daisy Miller or Christopher Newman, confronting social codes alien to their experience, are characters with whom some of the students can identify. They can respond to James's depiction of family relationships in *Washington Square*.

High school students are interested in the autobiographical elements in an author's novels. Given no other direction, most of my high school students would write source papers on the subject of "The Author's Life and How it Affected His Writing." (Some day, some high school student is going to undertake a paper on "Homer's Life and How It Affected the *Iliad*.") For such students, the biographical materials that Mr. Webb alluded to will be of great interest, although the shorter studies are more likely to be useful to the high school student than the monumental one on James that Leon Edel is publishing. The teacher should probably become familiar with such larger works and be able to guide interested students to portions that they may find useful.

The textual problems discussed by Mr. Webb are relevant to the program of the schools only to the extent that such problems seem to be slowing down the republication of some of James's works. The new editions of Mark Twain's works will be welcomed additions to the high school libraries. Personally I am pleased to see that *The Gilded Age* is being republished; this book has been hard to come by in recent years.

The republication of the works of Mark Twain and James in inexpensive paperback editions is, of course, the detail of Mr. Webb's paper that has the most powerful implications for the schools, for almost everything I have said has been built upon the fact that these materials are available. In many cases, these editions are valuable not only for the text but also for the excellent introductory essays written by their editors. Mr. Webb has brought to our attention a great body of critical, interpretive, biographical, and textual material on both James and Twain. This material suggests greater emphasis upon these writers in the literature programs of the secondary schools and of the colleges and in the acquisition policies of school libraries.

Recent Scholarship on Faulkner and Hemingway

Richard P. Adams

The word "recent" is perhaps redundant in this context. The past forty years have produced all the literary scholarship there is on Faulkner and Hemingway. Most of it, in fact, has been published in the past ten years, and anyone who wants to go through that many issues of the *PMLA* bibliography can very quickly find it. The bibliography of Faulkner criticism collected by Irene Sleeth in 1962 is an even handier guide to the study of Faulkner. Therefore, instead of plodding through long lists of titles, I should like to proceed in a more general fashion to indicate what seem to be some of the more interesting and promising directions in which literary scholars have been going, are going now, and may go in the future.

James B. Meriwether complained last year that literary scholarship on Faulkner had hardly begun; and he named an impressive number of things that had not been done. The same could be said with about equal justice concerning the scholarship on Hemingway. One hesitates to press such a complaint, however, in view of the staggering amount of the current output. The *PMLA* bibliography for 1960 listed 72 items (19 for Hemingway and 53 for Faulkner); in 1961 there were 112 (54 for Hemingway and 58 for Faulkner); in 1962, 123 (44 Hemingway, 79 Faulkner); and in 1963, 128 (48 Hemingway and 80 Faulkner). A good many of the things Meriwether named were being done, and some had been published, by the time his complaint got printed.

The most obvious deficiency at this moment is in biography, of which there is very little of a reliable kind in print for either Faulkner or Hemingway. Much of what has been printed as biography is fiction, and for some of it an unkinder term could be used. Perhaps it is not crucially important to know whether Hemingway was born in 1898 or 1899, or whether he did or did not return to the front to serve with the Italian Army after being wounded at Fossalta di Piave in 1918, or whether Faulkner got overseas at all, or whether he was seriously injured in a wartime airplane crash. It might be more useful to establish as fact that neither Faulkner nor Hemingway was a chronic alcoholic, and that both took their writing and the labor it imposed on them a great deal more seriously than they sometimes pretended to interviewers. More important still, in my opinion, is the critical contribution that good biography almost always makes to the study of an author's work by establishing it as art — by exploding the very common and very naive assumption that what the author says as fiction is literally what he thinks and feels in fact. This assumption has been rampant in the literary scholarship on both Faulkner and Hemingway.

Philip Young's book, for example, which in my opinion is still the best critical study of Hemingway, provides an excellent biography of the "Hemingway hero," but the logic of its relation to Hemingway's life is circular. [1] Young hypothesizes, almost entirely on the basis of evidence internal to the fiction, that Hemingway was deeply traumatized by the wound he suffered in the war, and that the contents and methods of his fiction can be explained by reference to the trauma and his efforts to cure it. This is a chicken-and-egg proposition; it would be equally logical to say that Hemingway needed a traumatic experience on which to focus his writing, and that the war provided a handy source, which he proceeded to take advantage of. The reminiscences of his sister, Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, published in 1962, tend to support this interpretation. [2]

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[1] *Ernest Hemingway* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1959).

With Faulkner the procedure has been different in detail but similar in principle. A philosophy, or a sociology, is abstracted from his fiction, assumed to be his own, and reapplied to the fiction to explain what it means. As Cleanth Brooks has pointed out in his *William Faulkner: The Yoknapatawpha Country,* this is not legitimate literary criticism. [3] But it is very hard to avoid (as I think Brooks's volume also demonstrates) as long as we do not have a large amount of reliable objective information, judiciously interpreted, on what the author said and did when he was not writing fiction.

Both Faulkner and Hemingway spent a good deal of energy and ingenuity posing as something other than literary men, or intellectuals. This posing has its amusing aspects, and it must have had its uses, or they would not have done it. But it has misled a number of people who should have known better – commentators (one hesitates to call them critics, much less scholars) such as Clifton Fadiman, Aldous Huxley, Wyndham Lewis, and others – who have taken the pose at face value and treated the works of Faulkner and Hemingway as if the authors had really been the clods they sometimes pretended to be. The problem is there, and it needs some care in the handling: Hemingway really was, if you like, a sportsman from the Middle West who became a war hero and something of an expert on the bullfights; Faulkner really was a small-town boy from north Mississippi who became something of a farmer. Faulkner may never have graduated properly from high school; Hemingway never went to college. They both wrote stories about uneducated people doing unsavory things in uncouth ways; and some of these stories have turned out to be simultaneously shocking and popular.

The sheer amount of scholarly interest in these authors should be sufficient warning, however, that the assumption of their mindlessness is not at all safe. In the past forty years, they have greatly impressed large numbers of readers, in many countries, including reviewers, critics, scholars, and other creative writers, many of whom they have influenced. The fact that some commentators have failed to understand the works, and have concluded therefore that the works were bad, seems hardly relevant now, if it ever was. The comparable *non sequitur,* that because Faulkner or Hemingway was doing something different from what the great writers of the renaissance or of the classical period of Greece or Rome had done, Faulkner or Hemingway could not be a great writer, can be refuted by the observation that great writers are often precisely those who do something different from what anyone has done before. The only safe assumption is that their work is both solid and complex; the proper task of schools and critics is to try to explain the complexity and to assist in the education of readers who can appreciate and enjoy it.

Current biographical and bibliographical studies are beginning to propagate a kind of information which will help, at least negatively, to put us and our students and ultimately the great reading public in the right frame of mind for the effort. For example, even if Faulkner did not graduate from high school, he did put in a little more than an academic year as a special student at the University of Mississippi, where his father was an administrative official. He made two A's in French, two B's in Spanish – and the less said about his grade in English the better. The fact that he had practically grown up on the campus, and spent a good deal of time there after the war, when he was learning to write, is perhaps more significant than the courses he took. His contributions to the campus newspaper, *The Mississippian,* and to the *Ole Miss* annual, consisting of poems, prose sketches, critical essays and reviews, cartoons, drawings, and designs, have been reprinted in Carvel Collins' collection *William Faulkner: Early Prose and Poetry,* the introduction to which is a substantial though limited biographical and critical study in itself.[4] The caption of one of the cartoons is a French pun, and four of the poems are translations from Verlaine. The general impression one gets from this collection is that the author, though awkward and provincial as yet, was working desperately hard and with some promise of success to become more sophisticated and more competent.

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[2] *At the Hemingways: A Family Portrait* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press [Little, Brown], 1962).
[3] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963).

The early career of Hemingway has been studied in considerable detail in an excellent biographical survey, *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway: The Early Years*, by Charles A. Fenton,[5] and some of his early journalistic work, first published between 1920 and 1924, has been edited by Gene Z. Hanrahan in a book misleadingly titled *Hemingway: The Wild Years*.[6] Hemingway has recorded his own memories of the same period in *A Moveable Feast*.[7] However, a great deal of collecting and reprinting remains to be done before we can say we have his early writings in a sufficiently available form. In general, there is an immense labor ahead for someone in the collecting and editing of letters and other papers, on which not even a decent start has been made in print for either Faulkner or Hemingway. The whole literary and cultural history of the period of their creative activity is a tremendous field for tilling, tremendously rich in materials now gradually becoming available to scholars. The work that has been done so far in this line is mostly rather thin and abstract; but we can look forward to the appearance, in the near future, of a few more books like Mark Schorer's *Sinclair Lewis*, which will help.

It is rapidly becoming evident that both Faulkner and Hemingway read great numbers of books which influenced their work; or, to speak more accurately, they found many ways of using what they learned from books, as well as from experience. In a real sense, original as they are, they are also solidly traditional; and to a considerable extent they derive from the same tradition, and have built on the same body of preceding work, consisting not only of fiction but of poetry (including French symbolist poetry, which they both seem to have read in the original), popular philosophy, history, social and economic theory, and science. A few examples will show the kind of thing that is turning up in current scholarly investigations. Edwin Fussell, in an article on "Hemingway and Mark Twain," not only explores the Mark Twain relation but finds that he can trace the line back through Fielding's Preface to *Joseph Andrews* (which Hemingway quoted four times in epigraphs to the four parts of *The Torrents of Spring*) to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, which is generally regarded as the first genuine novel, and which Mark Twain quoted, loosely, in *Huckleberry Finn*. Cervantes and Mark Twain are also among Faulkner's favorite authors.

In addition to standard sources such as the Bible, Dante, Shakespeare, and the Romantic poets, Faulkner and Hemingway have a number of less ubiquitously influential authors as common background. For example, they both obviously derive from Sherwood Anderson, as well as from Mark Twain; they both show great respect for Flaubert and for Conrad; and they both learned from Joyce and T. S. Eliot to use what Eliot called "the mythical method." They both show signs of having adopted some of Henri Bergson's ideas and formulas; and Frederic I. Carpenter, in an essay optimistically entitled "Hemingway Achieves the Fifth Dimension," shows that this influence was reinforced for Hemingway by probable contacts with P. D. Ouspensky and William James and by the certain fact of his early association with Gertrude Stein, a student of James. More than one scholar has observed that Hemingway's whole outlook and artistic method are decidedly pragmatic; and the same can equally well be said of Faulkner, although for him the links are not so specifically established.

It is interesting, though it may not be significant, to note that both Faulkner's and

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[4] (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press [Little, Brown], 1960).
[5] (New York: Viking Press, Compass C34, 1958).
[6] (New York: Dell Publishing Company, #3577).
[7] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964).

Hemingway's second appearance in a nationally circulated medium took the form of poems published in *The Double Dealer* for June, 1922, where they appeared on the same page. Faulkner's poem, consisting of six quatrains, was on top; Hemingway's, a single quatrain, was below.

Where there are so many coincidences, it is strange that more work has not been done in the comparative study of these two writers who were so closely contemporary and so closely parallel in so many ways, so interestingly different in others. Their comments on each other have been both amusing and significant: Hemingway said he wished he had the management of Faulkner's talent; Faulkner said (and interviewers hounded him about it for years afterward) that Hemingway ranked below him and farther below Thomas Wolfe because "he has no courage, has never crawled out on a limb. He has never been known to use a word that might cause the reader to check with a dictionary to see if it is properly used . . . ." These clever and somewhat snide remarks should not obscure the fact that Hemingway spoke admiringly of Faulkner in *Death in the Afternoon*, and the balancing fact that Faulkner took occasion in a dozen or more later interviews to explain and apologize for his comment. "I meant only," he said one time, "that Hemingway had sense enough to find a method which he could control and didn't need or didn't have to, wasn't driven by his private demon to waste himself in trying to do more than that. So, he has done consistently probably the most solid work of all of us." Hemingway's praise was directed specifically to the admirable manner in which Faulkner had written about whorehouses. The Author says to the Old Lady who is his foil in *Death in the Afternoon*, "Madame, you can't go wrong on Faulkner. He's prolific too. By the time you get them ordered there'll be new ones out." The Old Lady replies, "If they are as you say there cannot be too many." And the Author concludes the chapter by saying, "Madame, you voice my own opinion." It may be worth noting, for some kind of record, that Hemingway mentions the names of about seventeen other writers besides Faulkner in *Death in the Afternoon*, not always by way of compliment, and that he quotes from at least four more, namely Wordsworth, Emerson, Shakespeare, and Longfellow.

The statements of purpose which have been recorded, first by Hemingway and later by Faulkner, afford opportunity for a more fundamental comparison. Hemingway, in a familiar and often quoted passage in *Death in the Afternoon*, explained his early interest in bullfighting by saying,

> I was trying to write then and I found the greatest difficulty, aside from knowing truly what you really felt, rather than what you were supposed to feel, and had been taught to feel, was to put down what really happened in action; what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced. In writing for a newspaper you told what happened and, with one trick and another, you communicated the emotion aided by the element of timeliness which gives a certain emotion to any account of something that has happened on that day; but the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion and which would be as valid in a year or in ten years or, with luck and if you stated it purely enough, always, was beyond me and I was working very hard to try to get it. The only place where you could see life and death, i.e., violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring and I wanted very much to go to Spain where I could study it. I was trying to learn to write, commencing with the simplest things, and one of the simplest things of all and the most fundamental is violent death.

Faulkner's basic statement is shorter and more concise; he said in 1956 that "Life is motion," and that "The aim of every artist is to arrest motion, which is life, by artificial means and hold it fixed so that a hundred years later, when a stranger looks at it, it moves again since it is life." So far as I know, these statements have never been systematically compared; and I would like to suggest, very briefly, why I think they should be.

What Faulkner and Hemingway were both trying to do was to store up or freeze the kinetic energy of action by means of the artistic (or, as Faulkner says, artificial) techniques of writing, so that it could be released again in the readers as the same kind of motion or kinetic energy that it was in the authors and in the life they observed and lived. If they succeed in this aim, they achieve a kind of immortality, not only for life in general, but in some degree for themselves individually. Faulkner puts it that, "Since man is mortal, the only immortality possible for him is to leave something behind him that is immortal since it will always move. This is the artist's way of scribbling 'Kilroy was here' on the wall of the final and irrevocable oblivion through which he must someday pass." Hemingway, as usual, is more indirect and more prolix, but I believe he says substantially the same thing – and says it about writing, although he purports to be talking about bullfighting – when he maintains that

> the essence of the greatest emotional appeal of bullfighting is the feeling of immortality that the bullfighter feels in the middle of a great faena and that he gives to the spectators. He is performing a work of art and he is playing with death, bringing it closer, closer, closer, to himself, a death that you know is in the horns because you have the canvas-covered bodies of the horses on the sand to prove it. He gives the feeling of his immortality, and, as you watch it, it becomes yours. Then when it belongs to both of you, he proves it with the sword.

In Hemingway's writing, the technical means of bottling up the motion he wants us to feel is often precisely this kind of playing with death, this deliberate approach, as close as can be made, to violent extinction. The violence serves not only to emphasize the reality of the motion, but to provide a sort of containing field of force by means of which the motion can be held and preserved until the reader gets around to releasing it. The writer has an advantage over the bullfighter; his effects may not be as intensely immediate, but they can be made to last much longer. The bullfighter's immortality is of the moment; the writer's, with luck, forever.

In spite of conspicuous differences in style and temperament, Faulkner's method is in principle very similar and in practice equally violent. It is most often and conspicuously evident in his use of what Karl Zink has called "Flux and the Frozen Moment: The Imagery of Stasis in Faulkner's Prose" – the title of an article published in 1956. More recent studies, notably the volumes of general Faulkner criticism by Hyatt H. Waggoner and Olga W. Vickery published in 1959 [8] and the more specialized study by Walter J. Slatoff in 1960, [9] have explained more fully and clearly what this imagery means. The key word, as Waggoner indicates in his discussion of *As I Lay Dying* (where Faulkner brings death too close for comfort), is "terrific." The picture of Jewel and his horse standing "in rigid terrific hiatus" is, according to Waggoner's analysis, the "controlling metaphor" of the book. Later in the story, the river in flood is "skummed with flotsam and with thick soiled gouts of foam as though it had sweat, lathering, like a driven horse," and people on the other side of it "are the only things in sight not of that single monotony of desolation leaning with that terrific quality a little from right to left, as though we had reached the place where the motion of the wasted world accelerates just before the final precipice." When the Bundrens have crossed, with tremendous exertion and risk and hardship, the river "looks peaceful, like machinery does after you have watched it and listened to it for a long time. As though the clotting which is you had dissolved into the myriad original motion, and seeing and hearing in themselves blind and deaf; fury in itself quiet with stagnation." This kind of imagery pervades all of Faulkner's best books, and it provides, like the immortalizing play with death in Hemingway, the containing force for the energy and the motion of life.

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[8] Hyatt H. Waggoner, *William Faulkner: From Jefferson to the World* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1959). Olga W. Vickery, *The Novels of William Faulkner: A Critical Interpretation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959, 1964).

[9] *Quest for Failure: A Study of William Faulkner* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960).

Hemingway's method stresses the dynamic quality of life in a variety of other ways, as John Graham cogently pointed out in an article published in early 1961. The fundamental theme in Hemingway's work, Graham says, underlying the famous but relatively abstract "code," is "the involvement with the awareness of the material and interrelated world of character, action, and things. In the presentation of a moving, changing world and of the characters' recognition of that active world exists the constant movement which gives the novels their vitality." Frederic I. Carpenter, whose article was first published in 1954, takes a considerably deeper and wider view of the same dynamic quality. Hemingway's method begins, according to Carpenter, with immediate experiences, which are meaningless in themselves but which are intensely moving. These are related to what William James called "mediate" experiences in the form of historical or mythological material, which can be put into the fiction by means of flashbacks and other devices. The result is that "this new awareness of the patterns and meanings implicit in the immediate, individual experience intensifies it, and gives it a new 'dimension' not apparent at the time it actually happened." Hemingway's success in using this complex technique may explain the failure of other writers effectively to imitate his style. They get the immediate experience, but they generally miss the mediate implications that help to give Hemingway's prose its remarkable resonance.

These considerations are closely related to the difficult problem of structure, which has not been satisfactorily dealt with in scholarship on either Faulkner or Hemingway. Most scholars, in fact, prefer to let it alone and talk about themes and morals; but they often get the themes and morals wrong because they fail to see what the structure is or how it works. I cannot do much toward solving the problem here, but I would like to make a few suggestions.

Because the purpose of both Faulkner and Hemingway is to embody motion, their structures, when successful, are never closed, as a sonnet, an epic, or a tragedy may be closed. The older forms can be finished and polished and ended in a way that would be strongly contrary to what these writers aim to do. Their work requires an organic structure which, to use Coleridge's formula, "shapes, as it develops, itself from within"; and they cannot even go along with Coleridge when he adds that "the fullness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form." The word "perfection" is incompatible with their dynamism; if a thing is perfect, there is no further place for it to go. Faulkner has been especially explicit on this point, in many remarks to the effect that if he ever succeeded in making a perfect work, he would have to stop writing. In this sense, his work has been, as Walter J. Slatoff has observed, a "quest for failure." Faulkner's complaint about Hemingway was that "He never did try to get outside the boundary of what he really could do and risk failure. He did what he really could do marvelously well, first rate, but to me that is not success but failure . . . failure to me is the best. To try something you can't do, because it's too much, but still to try it and fail, they try it again. That to me is success."

Faulkner says the same thing in different terms, I think, when he tells a questioner that his theme is "man in the ageless, eternal struggles which we inherit and we go through as though they'd never happened before, shown for a moment in a dramatic instant of the furious motion of being alive," and that his strategy is to "catch this fluidity which is human life and . . . focus a light on it and . . . stop it long enough for people to be able to see it . . . ." Again he remarks that "Style if it's — like anything else, to be alive it must be in motion too. If it becomes fixed then it's dead, it's just rhetoric." He is kind enough to say that criticism which misconstrues his work "is valid because it is a symptom of change, of motion, which is life, and also it's a proof that literature — art — is a living quantity in our social condition. If it were not, then there'd be no reason for people to delve and find all sorts of symbolisms and psychological strains and currents in it." The whole process of Faulkner's writing is dynamic, and the structure is almost always open, not closed, unfinished, not finished.

The same principle applies to Hemingway, who did not agree with Faulkner's opinion that his work was too perfect, but whose continual tendency, like that of Faulkner or of Santiago in *The Old Man and the Sea,* was to go out too far; whose reach, to use an older metaphor, has often exceeded his grasp. Recent scholarship tends to show that simple accounts of his method are not adequate, however simple his work may seem on the surface. Even some of the more complex accounts have been proved to be not complex enough. For example, E. M. Halliday has examined Carlos Baker's analysis of the opposition between mountain imagery and plain or lowland imagery, particularly in *A Farewell to Arms,* and has found a good many places where it does not work in the straightforward way Baker says it does. The demonstration is not exactly to prove that Baker is wrong, but it shows clearly that his formula needs elaboration. A good deal more work needs to be done of the kind Baker did, on the kind of imagery he observed, and on the structures in which it operates.

Earl Rovit, in a book published in 1963, makes an excellent analysis of structural devices used by Hemingway for the closely related purposes of expressing the theme of personal development in his protagonists and of inducing the reader, as Rovit says, "to 'live into' the work, to create his own values out of the collision of his experience and that which the successful work plunges him into." [10] Rovit suggests that Hemingway's "characteristic structures are shaped to this end of implicating a reader in the rhythms of growth which inform his fictions; and we noticed as well that the climax of the implication (in his best fictions) occurs with an act of self-discovery or self-revelation." That is to say that the structure is not a blueprint or template or mold to which the final shape of the work must conform; rather, it is a system of dynamic relationships, involving the experience of the reader with the experience embodied in the work. for the purpose of forwarding a process of growth.

Faulkner makes the same point more colorfully in one of his interviews at the University of Virginia. Questioned about his use of the Christ story in *A Fable,* and asked specifically if his "imagination" was "circumscribed" by the pattern of the traditional story, he replied, "I think that whenever my imagination and the bounds of that pattern conflicted, it was the pattern that bulged . . . that gave. When something had to give it wasn't the imagination, the pattern shifted and gave. That may be the reason that a man has to rewrite and rewrite — to reconcile imagination and pattern. Of course, any work of art in its conception when it reaches a point where the man can begin to work has got to have some shape, and the problem then is to make imagination and the pattern conform, meet, be amicable, we'll say. And when one has to give, I believe it's always the pattern that has to give. And so he's got to rewrite, to create a new pattern with a bulge that will take this bulge of the imagination which insists that it's true, it must be."

This, if I read it correctly, means that a writer may use the form of a traditional historical or legendary or mythical story, purely as a means of getting started on the job of organizing his own work, but he must not let himself be governed by it. This principle helps to explain why Faulkner uses the Christ story and other traditional patterns, in *A Fable* and elsewhere, and it also indicates the reason why he seldom uses such patterns in traditional ways. The relative unsatisfactoriness of *A Fable* may be explainable on the ground that it parallels the Christ story too closely. *The Sound and the Fury* and *Light in August,* which also use the Christ story, but which depart from it much more freely, are much better books. There has been considerable speculation concerning Faulkner's use of various traditional patterns; and it seems to me that some of the most stimulating scholarship is that of such critics as Carvel Collins, Robert M. Slabey, Barbara M. Cross, Elizabeth M. Kerr, Beach Langston, and others who have pursued the Biblical, mythical, and legendary parallels to see what they can be made to yield. The results, in practice, have not always been convincing, but the direction seems hopeful. I believe that much has been learned and that much more will surely be suggested by judicious use of this approach.

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[10] *Ernest Hemingway* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1963).

I would like to suggest another approach, which as yet has hardly been tried, but which I suspect may open a rich vein of criticism if we can learn to use it; namely a systematic study of rhythms in the work of both Faulkner and Hemingway. I have a very strong feeling that the immediate appeal of their work, and of much other modern writing, and of modern art in general, lies in subtle uses of rhythm both as a textural technique and as a structural principle. This appeal is readily felt by our present younger generation, whose sense of "the beat" is perhaps their strongest as well as their most immediate esthetic criterion. Rhythm is the basic operating principle in many aspects of contemporary fiction: its use of colloquial speech as a model of style, its use of intricate thematic repetitions, and its asymmetrically balanced – or rather unbalanced – or counterpointed emotional tonalities. These devices work together with the theme of personal growth and development, with the more or less picaresque movements of the characters, and with the elaborately presented evidence of pervasive change, flux, and restlessness in the social and natural settings, to produce a total effect of extremely complex and inescapable motion. Many people find this quality unsettling or uncomfortable, as indeed it may be to anyone who feels it strongly. The old are apt to resent it and try to reject or ignore it. But young people, of whatever age, find it thrilling, exciting, and stimulating to their own sense of life.

Hemingway and Faulkner have rather different ways of looking at this world in motion, and their views of the writer's duties with respect to it differ accordingly. Hemingway says, at the end of *Death in the Afternoon*, that "The great thing is to last and get your work done and see and hear and learn and understand"; and he almost seems to echo the strenuous morality of Thomas Carlyle when he adds, "The thing to do is work and learn to make it." But the scope of his recommendation is deliberately narrow when he says, "Let those who want to save the world if you can get to see it clear and as a whole. Then any part you make will represent the whole if it's made truly." Emerson might have said that, and did say something very like it.

Faulkner too has said that the only thing a man can do for very long without getting bored is work. And he agrees that "The writer's only responsibility is to his art," adding that "If a writer has to rob his mother, he will not hesitate; the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is worth any number of old ladies." But it may be worth noting that Faulkner generously supported his own mother, and that he spoke respectfully of Christian morality as something that shows man "how to discover himself, evolve for himself a moral code and standard within his capacities and aspirations, by giving him a matchless example of suffering and sacrifice and the promise of hope." As he said in the Nobel Prize Speech of Acceptance, "The poet's, the writer's, duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail."

Hemingway never said it in quite that way. Perhaps his feeling was less inclusive than Faulkner's. But the work of both men was done in the same spirit as an addition to the amount and an enhancement of the quality of life in our time and in the future. Recent scholarship has firmly established the value of their creative contribution. Current and future scholarship, I am sure, will continue to develop this value, and in a sense to increase it. Scholars and critics and teachers make a creative contribution also, by making such values more available, and available to more people, than they would be without the scholarship. By so doing perhaps we too can earn a little immortality.

Faulkner and Hemingway: Implications for School Programs

John N. Terrey

While preparing this paper, I was visited by a friend and his sixteen-year-old daughter. She was learning to drive the family car, hence her presence. Inquiry from my friend divulged the nature of my task. The young girl – quick and intelligent – exclaimed: "We read a story last week by Faulkner. I've forgotten its name." Without a moment's pause, I said: "Two Soldiers." "Yes, that was it," she replied.

Both father and daughter looked at me with wonder. How could one be so omniscient! Really, for you who are in the trade, it was no challenge at all. "Two Soldiers" is too often *the* Faulkner of the secondary level. Were the young girl a college student I – as you – could have replied as readily with "A Rose for Emily."

Hemingway is both lesser than Faulkner, and greater. Frequently he is not represented at all in the short story section of the anthology or, if he is, he is represented by "Old Man at the Bridge." Or, if the anthology is a college anthology, the selection is probably "The Killers" or less often either "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" or "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber." He is greater in that sometimes his short novel, *The Old Man and the Sea,* is read while seldom is any Faulkner novel read.

I believe – and with considerable support – that Hemingway's early stories were the workshop of his famous style, and that they could be read in depth for that reason alone. Faulkner – on the other hand – remains primarily a novelist, for he never labored in the short story field as did Hemingway. One must read his novels, at least fifteen of them (those dealing with Yoknapatawpha County), if he is to come close to understanding Faulkner's style. Faulkner, as a stylist, was many-sided and ever changing.

Lucky is the high school student who has the honor to read any of Faulkner's novels or to read several of Hemingway's stories. But more fortunate by far is he who has the opportunity to read either writer in depth and with guidance. As with a poem so with a story or a novel – the best preparation for the reading of a second story or a second novel is the careful reading of the first. A careful reading goes beyond the surface facts. It goes beyond even the author's knowledge of his art.

Last year we had the opportunity to laugh at ourselves as Frederick C. Crews satirized us in *The Pooh Perplex.* The satire rings true for many of the journals and the graduate schools. It even rings true for the collegiate experience – at least once in awhile. But it tolls not at all for the secondary school. I think this is too bad. What it means is that the fare offered is lacking in depth, which means that it lacks meaning. Small wonder a girl cannot even remember the title of a Faulkner story.

I know the problems and I sympathize. Around the literary world in eighty days is impossible. From the Mayflower Compact to *Lord of the Flies* in one semester is too much. If the choice is to survey all or to seek depth, let us leave the surveying to others. Let us read fewer works but let us read them better – with greater analysis.

America may well make its cultural contribution to civilization as a result of its contributions to the short story and the novel. Certainly William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway are as yet the brightest stars in the rich firmament. They have assumed the burdens of artistically exploring the darkness and the mystery of the human spirit. The search must be lonely; the searcher must often be the dissenter. But Faulkner knew and Hemingway felt that their work was "A life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not the glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before." Through their efforts man may yet relearn, as Faulkner hoped he would, " . . . that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

My plea is for a wider, deeper, fuller, more intense search and examination of the universes writers like Hemingway and Faulkner created and which we as teachers and readers must recreate. Quickly I add that to do so requires that we keep our eye on the literary work and not on the multitude of intriguing detail which surround the work and the artist. I have heard teachers – as I assume you have – talk with students in detail about Hemingway but avoid his work and then pass off a story like "A Clean Well-Lighted Place" with a five minute synopsis. I have heard Faulkner described as the Hawthorne of the South, a South with an "inherent guilt" imposed by slavery that put a curse on the land. At least these teachers must have read Malcolm Cowley. We can be sad that this conclusion was not arrived at inductively.

I admit that it is easy – in fact, it is helpful – to put Hemingway and Faulkner as people into artistic catalogs. While it is not very original on my part, I admit, that I see Hemingway as Byron – romantic and egotistical – who plays the central character in every novel. Similarly I relate Faulkner and T. S. Eliot – a fact noted by many others, including Robert E. Spiller. I see Byron and Hemingway as being central to their work, as living out the literary efforts, as being subjective. I see Eliot and Faulkner as being users of the past to gain insight for the present, as being objective in the use of their materials. Yet I must admit that these neat categories are of little critical help. They even get in the way when I try to recreate *The Old Man and the Sea* or the Snopes trilogy.

What can be done? Before I propose any specifics, let me admit that there are many avenues. Many of you will disagree with my suggestions. But greater than any plan is the call to action. The teacher (not necessarily the student) needs an overview of American literature. Well-organized, brief, and readily available is Robert E. Spiller's *The Cycle of American Literature.* [1] Chapters XI and XII deal with Hemingway and Faulkner.

Spiller might provide the scope. What of the sequence? The idea current in the literature is that of a spiral sequence. As Jerome S. Bruner in *The Process of Education* describes it, every discipline has certain key principles which are discernible, and these principles can be taught and understood from a simple level up through increasing difficult levels. [2] Applications offer considerable difficulty. Let me suggest to you *Design for Learning* edited by the critic Northrop Frye. [3] Let us hope together that the many projects undertaken by Project English will bear fruit. We frankly know very little about how children learn. This fact makes difficult the development of a sequential program spirally unfolding increasingly more complex levels of fundamental principles inherent in the discipline. One hopeful guide I would suggest to you is the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*, especially Handbook II, the Affective Domain. [4]

As Gilbert Highet states in his superb book, *The Art of Teaching*, the teacher is a bridge. [5] He must bridge the gap between two worlds. He must be master of his discipline and knowledgeable about the nature of the student. We cannot here explore the nature of the student, except to say that I am convinced that we underestimate his ability. The student who can perform the amazing feats which occur daily in our science labs can also reach toward an understanding of the universes created by Hemingway and Faulkner. The prerequisite is that the instructor must have mastered some of the mystery himself.

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[1] (New York: Macmillan Company, 1955: also New York: New American Library, Mentor MP382).

[2] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960: also New York: Random House, Inc., Vintage Books V234).

[3] (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

[4] Benjamin S. Bloom and D. R. Krathwohl, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1956, 1964).

[5] Gilbert Highet, *The Art of Teaching* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950: also New York: Random House, Inc., Vintage Books VI).

As Richard Adams has reminded us, all scholarship relating to Hemingway and Faulkner is recent. We are far from any definitive critical assessment, but we never will be satisfied any more than we are satisfied with what critical opinion says about *Hamlet*. This wonder should excite us, not frustrate us. Hemingway, speaking to himself, says in *A Moveable Feast*: "All you have to do is write one true sentence." Or, as he put it in the introduction to *Men at War*, "A writer's job is to tell the truth." If he really wrote "one true sentence," that sentence would be true no matter how many times human knowledge multiplied. And if the sentence became an experience, joy would be limitless. Therefore the search for meaning is endless in what William James has called an unfinished universe. The universes of a Hemingway or of a Faulkner are likewise unfinished. Hence there is no justification for treating their creations as finished products which can be added down and checked by adding up. The universe must be exciting to the teacher or it will be dead. And a post mortem is not an experience many students seek.

Carlos Baker says of Hemingway:

> No other writer of our time has so fiercely asserted, so pugnaciously defended, or so consistently exemplified the writer's obligation to speak truly. His standard of truth-telling has been, moreover, so high and so rigorous that he has very rarely been willing to admit secondary evidence, whether literary evidence or evidence picked up from other sources than his own experience. 'I only know what I have seen,' is a statement which comes often to his lips and pen. [6]

Cleanth Brooks, after asking, "What can a provincial have to say of any consequence to modern industrial man living in an age of electronics and nuclear power?" answers the question by discussing "unreal realism." He says:

> Faulkner's novels and stories, properly read, can doubtless tell us a great deal about the South, but Faulkner is primarily an artist. His reader will have to respect the mode of fiction and not transgress its limitations if he is to understand from it the facts about the South – that is, he must be able to sense what is typical and what is exceptional, what is normal and what is an aberration. He can scarcely make these discriminations unless he is prepared to see what Faulkner is doing with his 'facts.' [7]

The irony of treating Faulkner as a provincial writer is that he is, in fact, an international novelist. Robert Penn Warren has reminded us that if we read Faulkner as if he were a poet, many difficulties would disappear.

A must for every English teacher's bookshelf is *Contemporary Literary Scholarship* edited by Lewis Leary (and available through the NCTE). [8] Likewise he should have available *Guide to American Literature and Its Backgrounds since 1890* by Howard Mumford Jones and Richard M. Ludwig. [9] The Swallow Press has provided two checklists of interpretation which would take a teacher to a wealth of critical material: *Short Fiction Criticism* [10] and *The American Novel.* [11] For example, under Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily" you will find reference to eighteen entries. Under Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* you will find seven entries. The most fascinating part of this search is that the critics differ so greatly. This is a good thing for students to discover. They could well be given two or three different analyses to argue about. And we could hope that they would find none to be satisfactory and, therefore, have to strike out on their own.

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[6] Carlos Baker, *Hemingway: The Writer as Artist* (3rd ed. rev.: Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963).

[7] Cleanth Brooks, *William Faulkner: The Yoknapatawpha Country* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963).

[8] (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958).

[9] (3rd ed. rev.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[10] Jarvis Thurston and others, *Short Fiction Criticism* (Denver, Colo.: Alan Swallow, Publisher, 1959).

[11] Donna Gerstenberger and George Hendrick, *The American Novel* (Denver, Colo.: Alan Swallow, Publisher, 1960).

Some comments on curriculum development may be in order. While I approve of the attempts being made to bring order to the teaching of literature and while I heartily endorse all attempts to develop curricular sequences, I do not hold out much hope for these labors as means of improving the teaching of literature. The key to good teaching is not primarily the program, the sequence, the emphasis; it is – and it will always be – the teacher. Therefore, a good teacher will do a good job with a poorly organized program; however, with a well-organized program, he will do a better job. A poor teacher will do a poor job with a flawless program. While we must surge on in our attempts to discern the best means of organizing and implementing curricular plans, we must place the strongest emphasis where it will do the most good – on the teacher.

My own criteria of the good teacher are simple. He must remain a learner himself. He must be an active citizen in the scholarly community. John Ciardi's little book, *How Does a Poem Mean?* has a large thesis which we cannot ignore without danger.[12] In literary interpretation we must assume an open-ended view. For some students, Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* will be a story about an old man who catches a big fish. Yet, for other students, its limitations are endless and, in some cases, will exceed our own. Our task then is to point the way, to organize the study so that plot and character and theme and structure are perceived. These seldom prepare us for the thrill which comes when a student discerns that rain and disaster are companions in *A Farewell to Arms.* Or imagine the thrill in reading a paper about the death of love in *The Sun Also Rises!* Or to hear a report on the stillness in *Light in August.* Even better, contemplate working with a student who is developing a comparison between Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Faulkner's view of man. In other words, what is important is what happens after all the trivia essential to securing an "A" on an objective test have been mastered. Where such study will go we don't know, but we should do more to see that it goes in the direction of depth.

While I may be in error about my assumptions, let me assure you that I am not in doubt. We need to develop an approach to fiction that includes the concept that a story – to be read well – must be savored, that the experience must linger long after the last word is read. In fact, when the last word is read, the novel is half read. It is this second half on which we need to concentrate. We are wiser to take a class through some common experiences before we let them go on independently. While we want them to be independent, we want them to be capable of independence. The study of the short story is the best genre for the common experience. It is short, for one thing, yet it contains the ingredients of the novel. It is even wise to read a novel together, but it is even wiser to read several novels alone. As Hemingway insisted on relying upon his own experience, so the student must come to know and to feel each literary experience for himself and that means that it is a private experience. The role of the teacher is to bring the right novel to readers at the right time. As Margaret Ryan has said:

> Two qualities deeply ingrained in human nature – love of a story and love of order – are the inner springs that vitalize the intellectual, emotional, and aesthetic growth that the study of fiction encourages.[13]

Nonetheless, we must remember, as Marlow in Conrad's *Lord Jim* put it, that "no man ever understands quite his own artful dodges to escape the grim realization of self-knowledge." To teach the student to look beyond the easy and the pleasant to the deeper and the significant requires talent on the part of the teacher.

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[12] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959).

[13] Margaret Ryan, *Teaching the Novel in Paperback* (New York: The Macmillan Company, Literary Heritage: A Macmillan Paperback Series, 1963).

With a short story like "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" the teacher first must examine the story and then the studies of the story, and second, must guide the student through the surface complexities; however, when the student begins to examine the different views of the old waiter and the young waiter in terms of the confusion as to who speaks which lines, we enter the magic land of artistic achievement. The same words given to the old waiter mean something quite different from what they mean if uttered by the young waiter. How does this happen? Truthfully, we don't know any definite answer. It remains open-ended, and it should.

Because they are readily available (in *Hemingway and His Critics,* edited by Carlos Baker [14]), students can read two views of *The Old Man and the Sea* – one by Clinton S. Burhans, Jr., treating the tragic vision, and the other by Keiichi Harada examining the marlin and the shark as symbols. When depth has been achieved as a means of analysis the next step is comparison between literary works. These can be two works by the same author or two works by different authors. Comparison forces analysis and achieves insight. For the teacher, may I suggest *Twelve Original Essays on Great American Novels* edited by Charles Shapiro. [15] The essays range from Cooper to Faulkner. Most of these essays, especially the one on Faulkner by Alfred Kazin, are concerned with "how" the novels mean. A similar book – also in paperback – is *Modern American Fiction: Essays in Criticism* edited by A. Walton Litz. [16] I recommend this book also for your library. I would also highly recommend *William Faulkner: Three Decades of Criticism* edited by Frederick J. Hoffman and Olga W. Vickery. [17] For a small sum with these books you can have readily available a great wealth of critical opinion which will help you as a teacher to win new perspective.

To summarize, let me observe:

1. That we need more depth, especially when we study the great contemporary writers such as Faulkner and Hemingway.
2. That in our classes we treat these writers not only too briefly by avoiding much – in fact, almost all – of their work, but that what we do teach we teach too superficially because we woefully underestimate the ability of the typical high school student or college undergraduate.
3. That we need to place greater emphasis on "how" rather than "what" in the study of fiction, especially with authors like Faulkner and Hemingway.
4. That we need to examine and have our students examine more of the critical views relative to these writers, and that we examine these essays not as answers but as means to independence of judgment.
5. That we work more on comparisions between novels (or stories) by the same authors as well as between novels by different authors as a means of deepening critical insight and that we arrive at a synthesis through the inductive method.
6. That we work toward the development of a workable, but not definitive, synthesis about the contributions of these writers.
7. That these analytical techniques be developed from the short story to the novel and from one novel to many novels and from class activities to independent activities.

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[14] (New York: Hill & Wang, American Century Series AC36, 1961).

[15] (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1960).

[16] (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Books GB100, 1963)).

[17] (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1960; also New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963).

8. And, finally, that we try to approach all writers as Cleanth Brooks recommends should we approach Faulkner:

> Like any other world truly wrought of the imagination, Faulkner's is a real world of the spirit. In spite of the harsh realism and the much advertised violence of Faulkner's work, his "facts" are important only as they exhibit purpose and value. Even lack of purpose and value take on special meaning when brought into Faulkner's world, for its very disorders are eloquent of the possibilities of order: Joe Christmas' alienation points to the necessity for a true community, and the author's dramatically sympathetic delineation of Joe's plight may be said to point to the possibility of that true community. It is difficult to think of an author whose basic assumptions are farther from the currently fashionable world of the absurd. For Faulkner's work speaks ultimately of the possibilities and capacities of the human spirit for finding and embodying meaning.[18]

With these purposes before us we can then join with the famous art critic Bernard Berenson when he said that "all the arts must singly and together combine to produce the greatest art of all – civilized society and its masterpiece – free man."

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[18] Cleanth Brooks, *William Faulkner: The Yoknapatawpha Country* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963).

IV.

American Literature for the Elementary School

IV.

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American Literature for the Elementary School

Dora V. Smith

From one point of view it is the glory of children's literature that it recognizes no national boundaries. Its domain is what Paul Hazard has so aptly called "the world republic of childhood." [1] *Alice-in-Wonderland, The Adventures of Pinocchio,* and *The Arabian Nights* are no less a part of the heritage of American children than *Make Way for Ducklings* and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* although they are the product of Europe and Asia while the others came out of New England and the Mississippi Valley.

Our purpose, however, is to ask what qualities distinguish the literature for children produced in this country and what peculiarly American contributions deserve a place in the program of our elementary schools.

I

Folk Backgrounds in American Literature

There is nothing more distinctively American in the literature of our nation than the tall tales which grew out of the vigorous life of our pioneers, and the all but miraculous strength and spirit with which our fathers, real and legendary, approached their tasks. Davy Crockett, cradled in the shell of a snapping turtle, his crib covered with a panther's skin, and his pillow a curled up crocodile, could grin a coon out of a tree. With Death Head, his bear, he safely rode Niagara Falls on a chunk of ice and outwitted the Indians in every encounter. Daniel Boone, the hunter of the Appalachians, shot pin feathers off eagles and swung from treetop to treetop like a wildcat as he evaded Indian bullets and saved Kentucky for the "U.S.A."

Tales of Paul Bunyan and Pecos Bill grew bit by bit from yarns spun around the campfires of lumberjack and cowboy. Great feats had to be done – feats that took years of hard labor before showing results. When progress seemed pathetically small at the end of a long day, the woodsmen gathered round the campfire and made up tales of Paul Bunyan and His Great Blue Ox, who were a match for the forests, Ol' John Henry, the railroad man, Pirate Jean Lafitte, Old Stormalong, five fathoms tall, and Pecos Bill, who rode the storm cloud until it rained out from under him. The resulting thud created Death Valley. These are tales absorbing to the younger adolescent hungry for achievement and recognition. Anne Malcolmson calls these heroes *Yankee Doodle's Cousins.* She is envious, for American children, of England's robust heroes like Robin Hood, Beowulf, and King Arthur's knights because American leaders are staid gentlemen like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. "The yarns," she says, "that have grown out of young America belong to the children as much by right of sympathy as by right of heritage. Paul Bunyan and Pecos Bill are ten years old at heart. Their humor, their wild romantic exaggerations, their quixotic naivete, and their hardheaded adaptability to circumstances – all these are qualities of the average fifth grader. When Mike Fink yells, 'I'm a Salt River Roarer, I'm a ring-tailed squealer,' he's a blood brother of the bantamweight quarterback who warbles, 'C'mon, men, let's mow 'em down!" [2] More than that, he's a part of the folk lore of our own country, with which our boys and girls should be familiar.

Anne Malcolmson's *Yankee Doodle's Cousins* is particularly useful for the middle grades, followed by Walter Blair's *Tall Tale America* (Coward, 1944) for the older pupils. The flavor of New England is in *The New England Bean-Pot* (Vanguard, 1948). *Paul Bunyan Swings His Axe* by Dell J. McCormick (Caxton, 1936) and *Ol' Paul, the Mighty Logger* by Glen Rounds (Holiday, 1949) are especially well adapted to elementary school pupils while Wallace Wadsworth's *Paul Bunyan and His Great Blue Ox* (Doubleday, 1926) and Esther Shephard's *Paul Bunyan* (Harcourt, 1941) have served the junior high school groups well. Upper grade pupils find James Bowman's *Pecos Bill, the Greatest Cowboy of All Time* (Whitman, 1937) and his more recent *Mike Fink* (Little, 1957) particularly dramatic. Harold Felton's *Pecos Bill* (Whitman, 1937) and his *John Henry and His Hammer* (Knopf, 1950) also meet the needs of upper grade pupils.

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[1] Paul Hazard, *Books, Children and Men* (The Horn Book, Inc., 1944), p. vii.

[2] Anne Malcolmson, *Yankee Doodle's Cousins* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941), p. viii.

Very different in their humor but equally American in background are the New York tales of Washington Irving. *Rip Van Winkle* should, of course, be known to every American child. *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* makes greater demands upon the reader. Especially useful is the edition in Macmillan's Children's Classics, illustrated by Maude and Miska Petersham (1951). Irving is difficult reading for the upper grades. Perhaps Rip needs to be introduced earlier through storytelling, recording, or tape, to be read later in Irving's language by the more capable readers in the junior high school.[3]

Some twenty years ago Richard Chase set down for American children the folk tales of the southern highlands. They are local adaptations of old English lore related with the flavor of southern mountain speech – "Jack and the Bean Tree," for example, instead of "Jack in the Beanstalk" and "Jack and the Bull" instead of "One Eye, Two Eyes, Three Eyes." Told with freshness, humor, and a fine sense of the dramatic, *The Jack Tales* (Houghton, 1943) and *Grandfather Tales* (Houghton, 1948) open up a colorful aspect of our American background. A part of the oral tradition of a fascinating section of our country, they require oral telling to bring out their humor and their drama. Recordings of them are available.

Recent years have seen a decrease in the use of American Indian legends with children, partly because of the rambling character of the narratives and their primitive explanations of natural phenomena. The most useful collections are those in which the retellings tighten up the narrative and lead with precision toward the climax. Dorothy Reid's recent edition of *Tales of Nanabozo* (Walck, 1963), legends of the Chippewa at the western end of Lake Superior, have proved excellent for story telling. Christie Harris's *Once Upon a Totem* (Atheneum Press, 1963) opens up the lore of the Indians of the North Pacific, and Natalia M. Belting's *The Long-Tailed Bear and Other Indian Legends* (Bobbs, 1961) contains stories from many different tribes. Martin's *Nine Tales of Coyote* (Harper, 1950) has been deservedly popular. Tales from other tribes appear in Anne B. Fisher's *Stories California Indians Told* (Parnassus, 1957), Corydon Bell's *John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cave: A Collection of Cherokee Indian Legends* (Macmillan, 1955) and Cyrus Macmillan's tales of Canada called *Glooskap's Country and Other Indian Tales* (Walck, 1956).

Joel Chandler Harris' *Nights with Uncle Remus* (1883) preserves a character and a dialect now gone from the American scene, together with the genuine flavor of life on the old plantation.[4] Harris did not wish to have his book called "humorous" because his intention was very serious. Uncle Remus, our men of letters agree, is one of the few original characters that America has added to the world gallery. The stories, too, have great appeal because of the marvel of Bre'r Rabbit's outwitting other creatures unquestionably superior in strength.

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[3] Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore 1, Maryland, *Stories to Tell.*

New York Public Library, New York City, *Stories: A List of Stories to Tell and Read Aloud,* 1960.

New York Library Association, Children's and Young People's Section, *Recordings for Children.* Available from the New York Public Library, New York City, 1964.

National Council of Teachers of English, "Recordings" in *Resources for the Teaching of English,* Champaign, Illinois.

[4] Joel Chandler Harris, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (Appleton, 1935).

Both Negro and white teachers feel that the dialect, which is foreign to pupils of both races, makes the tales impossible for many children to read. Recordings may be the answer for use of them today. Fear that Uncle Remus will be mistaken for a present-day type leads some people to urge omission of him from the school program. Though local decisions will be necessary on this question, it seems important that the stories should be available in all school libraries whether there is required class use of them or not.

The Fast Sooner Hound (Houghton, 1942) is a notable tall tale of railroad days in the far West preserved for American children by Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy.

These forty-eight states came
  Singing out the wilderness
Many long years ago.

With these lines John and Alan Lomax open their volume, *Folk Songs: USA* (Duell, 1947). "The songs," says one authority, "have a distinctively American accent, and they splash the palette of American folk song with bright colors." [5] The same is true of Carl Sandburg's *American Song Bag* (Harcourt, 1927). Many of the songs children will learn later in high school, but a few will dramatize for them even in the intermediate grades the spirit and hardships of the western trek. "The Little Old Sod Shanty in the West," "Starving to Death on a Government Claim," and "Dakota Land" are realistic lays of the pioneer settler.

The Erie Canal, it has been said, became a five-hundred mile folk festival, as the boatmen sang and whistled their favorite tunes, best known of which was the ballad called "The Erie Canal." The seekers after gold had their "Banks of the Sacramento." The mountain work gangs revelled in "She'll Be Comin' Round the Mountain When She Comes," and the lonely cowboys who rode the night heard regaled themselves with such tuneful ballads as "Good Bye, Old Paint, I'm Off for Cheyenne," "Whoopee Ti Yi Yo, Git Along Little Dogies" and "Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie." Teachers using this kind of material will need to take great care to eliminate those songs which are unsuitable for children. [6] Would-be cowboys in the fifth grade will more likely be pleased with the familiar "Home on the Range" and "The Cowboy's Life," both of which present a more romantic picture.

Negro spirituals like "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "Bound for the Promised Land" lend a different tone to the collection. To these may be added Stephen Foster's "Oh, Susanna," "My Old Kentucky Home" and other ballads.

It would seem also to be the province of the elementary school to introduce to children the patriotic songs of our country's growing. Henry J. Lyons has studied the origins of such favorites as "Yankee Doodle," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Dixie Land," "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "America the Beautiful," "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." They appear in his volume called *Stories of Our American Patriotic Songs* (Vanguard, 1940-42).

The eight and nine year olds have reached the stage of the riddles and rhymes of the frontier. John Lomax, in his preface to Ray Wood's *The American Mother Goose* (Lippincott, 1940) describes a frontier family get-together in Texas in which, after supper, the children gathered in front of the fire to "swap" those they had "come by" since their last reunion until every boy and girl had memorized what every other child knew. Thus the old favorites like "I asked my mother for fifty cents" and "Adam and Eve and Pinch-Me-Tight" were passed on to posterity. Maude and Miska Petersham's

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[5] Robert E. Spiller, Willard Thorp, Thomas H. Johnson, and Henry Seidel Canby, *Literary History of the United States* (Macmillan, 1955), p. 711.

[6] See Ruth Porter Seeger's *American Folk Songs for Children in Home, School, and Nursery School* (Doubleday, 1948) and Carl Carmer's *America Sings* (Knopf, 1942).

The Rooster Crows (Macmillan, 1945) and Carl Withers' *A Rocket in My Pocket* (Holt, 1948) are also filled with folk material, which, at a certain stage in a boy's life, furnishes a painless entree into the realm of poetry.

II

American Poetry, Old and New

Some of us remember the days when the curriculum in elementary school poetry was bounded on the north, south, east, and west by the Cambridge poets, whose portraits (always as old gentlemen with beards) decorated every wall of the school room. Today they form a small part of the program of poetry for children. Selections from Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha" still have a rightful place in the curriculum – the "Childhood of Hiawatha," for instance, and an occasional incident like the myth of the creation of Indian maize. Crudities in the "Psalm of Life," the lack of childlike quality in the arrow shot into the air, and the remoteness of "The Children's Hour" in a world where children are in the center of the stage at every hour of the day give Longfellow's poetry less acclaim among modern children than it used to have. However, the awesome truth of

> Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State,
> Sail on, oh Union strong and great,
> Humanity with all it fears,
> With all the hopes of future years,
> Is hanging on thy fate!

grows greater with the years.

Evangeline would seem to belong to older adolescents with *The Courtship of Miles Standish* coming in between. If *The Courtship* follows or parallels the study of American history and the reading of the Benéts' rollicking poem, junior high school pupils will be able to get more out of it. The vocabulary is exceedingly difficult. Illustrations by N. C. Wyeth (*The Courtship of Miles Standish*, Houghton, 1920), or a film or recording would help a great deal. Many pupils will not be able to read it until in their senior high school years. A recent trend toward publishing a long narrative poem in a single volume with full page illustrations has made "Paul Revere's Ride" (Crowell, 1963) even more popular if that were possible. Aided by the colorful pictures of Paul Kennedy, "The Skeleton in Armor" (Prentice-Hall, 1963) has come to life again – at least for junior high school boys and girls.

Snow and winter appear frequently in the poems of the New England group. The opening stanzas of Lowell's "The First Snowfall" should undoubtedly be a part of the heritage of all American children. The first stanza of Emerson's "Snowstorm" contrasts magnificently in rhythm and in snow scene with Lowell's poem, and the winter and spring in "The Vision of Sir Launfal" add another interesting contrast which parallels the events of the life of the knight. It is unfortunate that the story of Sir Launfal's adventure should be slowed up by these descriptions. In the junior high school, pupils may well begin with the story, which can be read aloud in fifteen minutes, and add the pictorial framework after they have found out what happened.

Emerson's "Concord Hymn," written in honor of the men who lost their lives in the battle of the bridge, like Holmes' "Old Ironsides," is a favorite with young patriots. The final stanza of Lowell's "The Present Crisis," "New occasions teach new duties," also has meaning for the present generation as well as the last stanza of his poem on "Freedom."

Vachel Lindsay is well liked by older pupils whether they approach his work through "The Potatoes' Dance," "An Indian Summer Day on the Prairie," or the thought-provoking "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight."[7] Young children rejoice, too, in "The Little Turtle," "The Moon's the Northwind's Cooky," "The Mysterious Cat," and the humorous "Explanation of a Grasshopper" as the "Brownies' racehorse and the fairies' Kangaroo."

Not a child looks out on a foggy day without seeing the fog come in "on little cat feet," so great is the popularity of Carl Sandburg's poem. Older ones who live by the northern lakes are equally impressed with Witter Bynner's "Indian-footed move the mists" (Ghosts of Indians). The humor of Sandburg's poem on "Arithmetic" strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of children of the intermediate grades. His "Primer Lesson," beginning, "Look out how you use proud words," brings home an important truth to older boys and girls.[8] Walt Whitman's dream for America comes to superior readers in the junior high school through "I Hear America Singing." It also furnishes them an opportunity to discuss why it is a poem although it does not rhyme. With the help of the teacher, they can also appreciate "O Captain, My Captain" after sensing in their history class the meaning of Lincoln's death, for this nation.

A few years ago, Robert Frost gathered together in an attractive volume with appropriate woodcuts those of his poems which appeal most to children and young people. *You Come, Too: Favorite Poems for Young Readers* (Holt, 1959) should be in every school library although some of the poems will be especially popular in the junior high school and above. Reviewers point to Robert Frost as the first American poet children should grow up to and with because he spoke of America in the rhythms and idiom of American speech. The poems are neither galloping in rhythm nor colorful in tone. Children have to be led into them by a teacher who can interpret metaphor and demonstrate that poetry need not romp nor display fireworks. Care in introducing his work is very important. "Stopping by the Woods on a Snowy Evening" and "The Runaway" are the most popular. "The Pasture," too, appeals to many children. Girls enjoy "The Last Word of a Bluebird." Perhaps a gifted teacher, at the close of a study of American history, may help junior high school pupils to understand why President Kennedy chose "The Gift Outright" for Mr. Frost to read at his inauguration.

Edna St. Vincent Millay also made a selection from her poems for young people,[9] "The Railroad Track Is Miles Away" and "Afternoon on a Hill" being especially suitable. "The Ballad of the Harp Weaver" will give older boys and girls a new vision of what some children have to endure. In addition, the poetic expression and the musical rhythm of the lines greatly enhance the beauty of her work.

Nature poems abound in the writing of American poets. Many of Emily Dickinson's and of Lew Sarett's are particularly appropriate to the upper grades of the elementary school. "The Morns Are Weaker Than They Were" with its simple vocabulary and childlike personification is much enjoyed by girls. "I'll Tell You How the Sun Rose" is a universal favorite.[10] Boys, however, claim Lew Sarett, the forest ranger, as their own. "God Is at the Anvil," in its brilliant color and masculinity, presents a boy's sunset in contrast to Emily Dickinson's very feminine one. His "Marching Pines" and "The Lamps of Bracken-Town" are simple and appealing to upper grade children.[11]

Elizabeth Coatsworth is especially at home with New England nature and animals.[12] Her poems on "January" and "March" together with "Swift things are beautiful" have a succinctness and suggestiveness new to children, and her love of cats gives them a kindred feeling for her. Her poems suggest that verses need not gallop to be interesting and that reading with the mind's eye is important. Frances Frost, whose "Railroad Ducks" as seen from a car window is a special favorite, is her fellow-traveler in New England.[13] Hilda Conkling's verse, being unrhymed, challenges young readers to approach poetry differently in such poems as "The Little Snail" and "The Dandelion."[14]

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[7] Vachel Lindsay, *Johnny Appleseed and Other Poems* (Macmillan, 1928).
[8] Carl Sandburg, *Early Moon* (Harcourt, 1930).
[9] Edna St. Vincent Millay, *Edna St. Vincent Millay's Poems Selected for Young People* (Harper, 1929).
[10] Emily Dickinson, *Poems for Youth* (Little, 1934).
[11] Lew Sarett, *The Collected Poems of Lew Sarett* (Holt, 1941).
[12] Elizabeth Coatsworth, *Poems* (Macmillan, 1957).

Eugene Field and James Whitcomb Riley are also enjoyed by boys and girls. Field's poems of childhood have often been set to music. "Wynken, Blynken, and Nod" is especially popular as a lullaby. "The Gingham Dog and the Calico Cat" (The Duel) continues to fill little children with glee.[15] In the middle years boys and girls enjoy James Whitcomb Riley's "Little Orphant Annie" and "The Raggedy Man"; that is, if somebody reads them aloud so that the listeners get the full flavor of the dialect.[16]

To the Negro poets of America we owe some of our best verse, filled with humor, pathos, and keenness of vision and characterized by varied and appropriate rhythm. Something of the idealism of Langston Hughes is in *The Dream Keeper and Other Poems* (Knopf, 1932). His "Lincoln Monument: Washington," his "April Rain Song," and the striking descriptions of San Francisco in "Trip" and "City" reveal contrasting rhythms, restraint, and pictorial power; whereas "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" shows great depth of feeling about the ancient inheritance of his people. His "Merry-Go-Round," coupled with Countee Cullen's "Incident: Baltimore," presents with dramatic yet restrained power the innermost reaction of the Negro to indignities he often suffers.

No one has contributed more to our appreciation of the Negro poets than Arna Bontemps in his collection for young people, called *Golden Slippers: An Anthology of Negro Poetry for Young Readers* (Harper, 1941). Three of his own poems, "Miracles," "Dark Girl," and "Daybreakers" appear in the volume along with James Weldon Johnson's "Creation, a Negro Sermon" and Paul Lawrence Dunbar's dialect poem, "In the Morning." Comparison of the latter with Dunbar's other poems like "When Malindy Sings" and "Po' Little Lamb" will reveal to older boys and girls the great variety in the Negroes' contribution to American verse. Charlemae Rollins has also gathered together for American children some of the poems and stories which have grown out of the Negro celebration of Christmas. They appear under the title of *Christmas Gif'* (Follett, 1963).

Notable scenes and characters in American history are brought to life in poetry for older boys and girls. The creaking and the jolting of the covered wagons on the road west are in Arthur Guiterman's "The Oregon Trail." The urge for "elbow room" is personified in his vigorous "Daniel Boone." Joaquin Miller's "Columbus" is now known to every American child, and "Barbara Frietchie," in spite of the fact that her story has apparently no foundation in fact, remains a favorite with American youth.[17]

Elizabeth Coatsworth in her poem "Conquest," gives older pupils a sense of the passing of time and the many factors which entered into the taming of the wilderness. Her "New England" and "The Navajo," though dealing with today, turn our thoughts constantly to the past.[18] Jessamyn West's "Song of the Settlers" brings home to children the fact that "Freedom is a hard-bought thing." To Mary Austin we owe the revelation of life in the Southwest in her *The Children Sing in the Far West.* In "A Song of Greatness" there is the revery of a Chippewa Indian, revealing pride in his ancestry. There are "The Rain Song of the Rio Grande Pueblos" chanted to the rhythm of the tom-tom, "Texas Trains and Trails" reminiscent of the cowboys, and the Indians' passing on of tribal wisdom. One of them describes how to behave when one meets a bear ("The Grizzly Bear"). Although the volume is out of print, individual poems appear in many anthologies. Hilda Wetherell's "Burro with the Long Ears" also has in it the quiet dignity of the Navajo drawing water at the water hole; whereas her "Little Puppy," transcribed also from the Navajo, pictures similarly the trip back and forth between the cliffs of the West. *A Book of Americans* by Rosemary and Stephen Vincent Benét, (Rinehart and E. M. Hale, 1932), makes a very good transition from patriotic to humorous verse. In rollicking "jigglety" lines, the Benéts have given us both ridiculous and eminently true pictures of our national heroes. "Nancy Hanks" has a quiet, breathless and appropriate rhythm.

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[13] Frances Frost, *The Little Naturalist* (Whittlesey, 1959).
[14] Hilda Conkling, *Poems by a Little Girl* (Stokes, 1920).
[15] Eugene Field, *Poems of Childhood* (Scribner, 1904).
[16] James Whitcomb Riley, *Rhymes of Childhood* (Bobbs, 1891).
[17] See Helen Ferris, *Favorite Poems, Old and New* (Doubleday, 1957).
[18] Elizabeth Coatsworth, *op. cit.*

Humorous poems have always been one of the best avenues of approach to poetry for children. Charles Carryl's "Robinson Crusoe's Story," Mildred Plew Meigs' "The Pirate Don Durke of Dowdee," and Wallace Irwin's "A Nautical Extravagance" are poems no eleven-year-old should miss. In humor of concept, in graphic use of language, and in appropriateness of rhythm and unconventionality of rhyme, they prove to children that the poet often engages in sheer fun. No one has combined word juggling, absurd situations, and comical rhymes better than Laura E. Richards has done in *Tirra Lirra* (Little, 1955). The years have not altered the delight children take in "The Poor Unfortunate Hottentot," "The Monkeys and the Crocodile," and "Little John Bottlejohn" since their first appearance in 1918.

As Mrs. Arbuthnot points out in her fascinating discussion of poetry for children in the recent revision of *Children and Books* (see fn. 19), we are in the midst of a revival in humorous verse. William Cole, in his *Humorous Poetry for Children* (World, 1955, p. 15) calls it "a way of approaching serious poetry sideways. Once you become a poetry reader," he says to the children, "you'll be one for life. And a head well stocked with poetry is the best kind of a head to have." Favorites by Ogden Nash like "The Panther" and "The Adventures of Isabel" appear in his own collection called *The Moon Is Shining Bright and Clear* (Lippincott, 1953), which, along with his "Custard the Dragon," is still serving children well. William J. Smith's *Laughing Time* is a universal favorite David McCord has written two volumes of verse which combine childlike humor with a thoughtful look at a child's world: *Far and Few* (Little, 1953) and *Take Sky* (Little, 1962), both subtitled *Rhymes of the Never Was and Always Is.* Prime favorite is the "Song of the Train," in which the "Clickety-clack of the wheels on the track" gives little children an excellent chance to "join in" at the end of each stanza.

Notably successful with intermediate grade children are Kaye Starbird's *Speaking of Cows* (Lippincott, 1960) and *Don't Ever Cross a Crocodile and Other Poems* (Lippincott, 1963). Typical of the gentle pace of the former is "Silas Pie," the fruit and garden man who steers his horse through modern traffic and "never tootles back." The crow who joined the choir in the second verse of "Abide with Me" is much enjoyed in "Don't Ever Cross a Crocodile." Recently John Ciardi has invaded the ranks of poets writing humorous verse for children. His uncanny facility with rollicking ryhthms and preposterous rhymes, along with his knowledge of the daily doings and thoughts of children, is well illustrated in *I Met a Man* (Houghton, 1961), *The Reason for the Pelican* (Lippincott, 1959), and *The Man Who Sang the Sillies* (Lippincott, 1961).

A little child's love of poetry comes, perhaps, less from flights of fancy or even from extraordinary rhythmical effects than from the presentation of the experiences which the youthful reader knows best. When the poet captures the varied rhythms of everyday life or looks out upon the daily scene with the eye of the imagination, the child recognizes in his own experience things he has not seen in the same way before. For example, in Dorothy Baruch's "Merry-Go-Round," he goes round and round with the horses, stopping reluctantly as the engine dies in the last line of the poem. In Elinor Wylie's "Velvet Shoes" he relives the experience of walking in the snow with a poet's appreciation of its beauty and texture. Rachel Field's "Gunga" and "The Circus Seal" reproduce through the eye of the imagination what the child has never seen so clearly for himself. [19] Nancy

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[19] May Hill Arbuthnot, *Children and Books* (Scott, Foresman, 1964) and *Time for Poetry* (Scott, Foresman, 1959); John Brewton, *Under the Tent of the Sky* (Macmillan, 1937).

Byrd Turner's "Hallowe'en" and "Black and Gold" throw a new glow over the autumn, and Phyllis McGinley's *All Around the Town* (Lippincott, 1948) offers a whole alphabet of verses about the daily doings of children.

Eve Merriam's *There Is No Rhyme for Silver* (Atheneum, 1962) delights pupils in the primary grades with clever riddles and rhymes and constant play on words. "What in the World?" makes riddles about familiar animals, and her "Autumn Leaves" and five lines on "April" catch the color and tempo of the seasons. Her second book, *It Doesn't Have to Rhyme* (Atheneum, 1964), is filled with ludicrous verses about words and their ways. Mary O'Neill in *Hailstones and Halibut Bones* (Doubleday, 1961) leads children on adventures in color with clear, fresh imagery and an appeal to the senses. The volume has been used to stimulate creative writing. Mary Cohn Livingston's *Whispers and Other Poems* (Harcourt, 1958) and *Wide Awake and Other Poems* (Harcourt, 1959) have a delicately musical and imaginative quality that appeals especially to young readers.

Harold Behn's sympathetic understanding of children gives a childlike quality to his "The Kite" with its flapping lines and unexpectedly down-to-earth ending. The contrast between "going" and "coming" in his poem, "Adventure," and the lively description of Hallowe'en are especially suited to the middle grades, whereas the charming tale of the animals of the "Merry-Go-On," each of whom wishes to be the leader, delights the hearts of little children. His three volumes – *The Wizard in the Well* (Harcourt, 1956), *The Little Hill* (Harcourt, 1949), and *Windy Morning* (Harcourt, 1952) were written for his own children and grandchildren.

Karla Kuskin's *Roar and More* (Harper, 1956), a picture book of verses about the sounds made by various animals, has great fascination for little children. Her *In the Middle of the Trees* (Harper, 1958) is a delightful combination of childish experience with varied use of rhythm and rhyme.

No poem, however, written in our country, equals in popularity Clement Moore's *'Twas the Night Before Christmas* (Grosset, 1949) published anonymously because the author was ashamed of what he called its triviality. Although it appeared first in a dull black-covered volume of poems by New York poets, it remains today in the gayest of gay colors on our library shelves to be presented annually to gleeful children who have no need of the text as they recite the lines brought to mind by the pictures.

III

American Fiction for Children

When we turn to American fiction for American children, we have a wealth of offering little known in former years. From the days of Louisa Alcott's *Little Women* (Little, 1868 and 1929), stories of family life have been popular with both American writers and their readers. American ideals of equalitarianism, strong family feeling, a gospel of work and of fair play, of simplicity and morality, according to Henry Steele Commager, differentiate our literature for children from that of other nations of the world. [20] What better example could we find than the story of the Ingalls family in the much beloved *Little House Books* (Harper, 1953) – whether "On the Banks of Plum Creek," "In the Big Woods," or "By the Shores of Silver Lake"? The deep contentment and sense of security within the family were proof against both the deprivations within and the hostility of nature, and sometimes of Indians, without. And what of the Moffats (Harcourt, 1941) created by Eleanor Estes, whose faith that life is good remains secure through straightened circumstances; and the Melendy family (Rinehart, 1947), diversified in interests as in age, who pursue adventures each in his own way, but on a level of living which makes possible more varied and widespread activities.

In Madeleine L'Engle's *Meet the Austins* (Vanguard, 1960), a warmhearted story for older readers, family adjustments are both serious and humorous as the Austins take in spoiled Maggy, the orphaned child. Two recent similar stories deal sympathetically with handicapped children who have to adjust to family settings – Meindert De Jong's *The Singing Hill* (Harper, 1962) and Jean Little's *Mine for Keeps* (Little, 1962).

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[20] Cornelia Meigs and others, *A Critical History of Children's Literature* (Macmillan, 1953), p. xiii-xv.

Carolyn Haywood's "Betsy" (Harcourt, 1939-) and "Little Eddie" (Harcourt, 1947-), books suitable for reading as early as the second and third grades, offer humorous and perceptive accounts of the home and school doings of little children.

Stories of "bad" boys have been popular in American literature ever since Thomas Bailey Aldrich so characterized himself in 1860 in *The Story of a Bad Boy* (Houghton, 1860). Toby Tyler or *Ten Weeks with a Circus* (1880) (World, 1947) is still occasionally read along with Booth Tarkington's *Penrod* (1914) (Doubleday, 1931), but neither approaches its former popularity. Only Mark Twain's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (Harper, 1875 and 1932) keeps its established place at the head of the list in interest for young readers. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Harper, 1884 and 1931), though more grim and complex, is also popular among junior high school readers. These books are among the first great American classics within the comprehension of upper grade and junior high school readers.

Children's literature today offers a variety of stories of boys growing up – some of them lighthearted and others very serious in tone. Beverly Cleary's *Henry Huggins* (Morrow, 1950) and Robert McCloskey's *Homer Price* (Viking, 1943) are among the easiest and most humorous. There is, however, no suggestion that either central character is a "bad" boy. From the moment when Henry boards the bus with his dog, Ribsy, in a cardboard box, the sympathies of the readers are with him no matter how obviously they may chuckle at his predicament. "And how," says the reader, "could Homer Price know that the doughnut machine he had offered to tend would lose its power to stop making doughnuts?"

Keith Robertson's Henry Reed (*Henry Reed, Inc.*, Viking, 1952) takes on a girl in his scientific experiments in Princeton, with the understanding that she is not to be a partner in the firm. Only at the end of the summer, when she has showed herself both resourceful and indispensable to his projects, does he reluctantly add an *Inc.* to the firm name of *Henry Reed*, inscribed on the barn.

A number of the best American books for children deal seriously and sympathetically with the problems of "growing up." They are largely stories set in a unique locale, in which the boy's desire to be a man comes early. *The Yearling* (Scribner, 1939) by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings takes place in the Florida scrub, where Jody Baxter's adopting of a fawn gives him a sense of belonging to something that needs him. When the fawn destroys the destitute family's crops, he recognizes the inevitability of parting with him and grows up in the process.

Joseph Krumgold's . . . *And Now Miguel* (Crowell, 1953) is the sensitively told story of the trials of the middle child in a New Mexican sheep herder's family. In scene after scene amid the beauty of the mountains and the demands of life in the sheep country, the reader sees him grow up both physically and psychologically until he takes his place with the men who lead the sheep to the upland pastures in the Sangre de Cristo mountains for the summer. In *Onion John* (Crowell, 1959) Andy grows up to a choice between his father's ideal for him as a respected businessman in a New Jersey town and the strange superstitions of an eccentric handy man who prefers to live on the edge of a stone quarry.

Emily Neville, in *It's Like This, Cat* (Harper, 1963), pursues the problems of a boy growing up with a stray cat for company in Gramercy Park as he finds a place for himself among family and friends.

There is less depth but perhaps more universal interest in parallel stories for older girls in which a youthful love affair is at the heart of the plot. Beverly Cleary's *Fifteen* (Morrow, 1956) penetrates the joys and problems of a first love affair. Betty Cavanna's *Going on Sixteen* (Hale, n. d.) brings a country boy and girl together again after both have adjusted to high school life in town. Elizabeth Speare's *The Witch of Blackbird Pond* (Houghton, 1958) sets off Puritan ideals against those of a girl brought up on a lush island in the tropics. Conflicts between characters and setting are real, and the grand climax in the witchcraft trial brings together the hero and the heroine, whose vigorous personalities have clashed on more than one occasion. Few books combine a love theme for young readers with so great a wealth of other values in setting and story.

American writers have done much to introduce the children of various sections of this country to each other. *Tom Sawyer* and *Huck Finn* were important examples of regionalism in American literature though they clearly broke through the regional in the universal . . . . *And Now Miguel*, *The Yearling*, and *The Witch of Blackbird Pond* have done the same thing on the child's level. Mary O'Hara revealed life on a Wyoming ranch in *My Friend Flicka* (Lippincott, 1944), and Scott O'Dell in his recent *Island of the Blue Dolphins* (Houghton, 1960) describes the loneliness and beauty of the island off the coast of Southern California, where an Indian girl lived alone with the animals and nature and came to be at home with both. Doris Gates (*Blue Willow*, Viking, 1940) and Esther Wier (*The Loner*, McKay, 1963) have helped American children to share the difficult experiences of migratory workers in the West in the courageous stories of Janey Larkin, who, after five long years, could put her blue willow plate on the sideboard and know that it would stay there, and of the lonely boy worker who, through the kindness of a Montana woman sheep herder, found himself and a home on her ranch.

Ann Nolan Clark, who has lived for years among the Navajos of the Southwest, has revealed their life and aspirations in *Little Navajo Bluebird* (Viking, 1943) and *In My Mother's House* (Viking, 1951). Florida and its squatters form the background for the warmhearted story of *Strawberry Girl* (Lippincott, 1945) by Lois Lenski. Pennsylvania, with its Quakers and Pennsylvania Dutch, is the scene of Marguerite de Angeli's *Thee, Hannah* (Doubleday, 1940) and *Henner's Lydia* (Doubleday, 1936). Virginia Sorenson's *Plain Girl* (Harcourt, 1955) reveals the clash of cultures between the family traditions of a loyal Amish family and those of other children in the public schools.

Two distinctly humorous books for the middle grades are Phil Stong's *Honk the Moose* (Dodd, 1935), a perfect picture of Finnish farm communities in northern Minnesota, and Robert McCloskey's *Lentil* (Viking, 1940), a humorous caricature of the Midwest's Main Street welcome to a politician returning to his home town from Washington.

Younger readers also share in the aspirations and experiences of children of the southern highlands in Ellis Credle's delightful *Down Down the Mountain* (Nelson, 1934) and Lynd Ward's *The Biggest Bear* (Houghton, 1952), the latter a dramatic story of a small boy's mountain quest for the biggest bear in the forest and his return with the most lovable baby bear of them all.

Robert McCloskey's human interest story of a mother duck's care for her young in *Make Way for Ducklings* (Viking, 1941) is enriched by a well-loved setting in the heart of Boston. The author has also taken the children vacationing in *One Morning in Maine* (Viking, 1952) and in *Time of Wonder* (Viking, 1941), an exquisitely beautiful description of an end-of-season hurricane which came just as the family was leaving its summer home on the coast.

Margery Clark's story of the lovable little boy whose Auntie Katushka came from the Old World to make poppy seed cakes (*Poppy Seed Cakes*, Doubleday, 1924) is typical of a wealth of material about the peoples who make up our country. Leo Politi has brought to life the Mexican children of Los Angeles in his *Juanita* (Scribner, 1948) and *Pedro, the Angel of Olvera Street* (Scribner, 1946). The *Hundred Dresses* by *Eleanor Estes* (Harcourt, 1944) is a sympathetic account of a little Polish girl thoughtlessly snubbed by her classmates.

Two stories popular with children ten years old and above reveal sincerely and objectively the lives of Negro boys, all of whom are ambitious to improve their situations. In Arna Bontemp's *Sad-Faced Boy* (Houghton, 1937), told in the authentic rhythms of Alabama speech, three boys go north to New York, making their way through playing and singing and tap dancing. They have both happy and sad experiences, and in the end, decide to return to Alabama. Louise Shotwell's more recent story called *Roosevelt Grady* (World, 1963) reveals the ups and downs of a Negro family attempting to leave its migratory status for a "stay-put place" on the Eastern Seaboard. Permeated with tenderness and with sympathy for the joys and sorrows of a small child's daily experiences are Jack Keats's charming picture books of the activities and moods of a little boy on a snowy day (*The Snowy Day,* Viking, 1962) and in *Whistle for Willie* (Viking, 1964) his later strenuous efforts to whistle. Only the glowing pictures in both books show that he is a Negro.

Fiction related to the major periods in our country's story has a large place in the children's reading. Alice Dalgliesh presents *The Thanksgiving Story* (Scribner, 1954) for little children with striking pictures which bring all nature to an autumn climax along with the story itself. The Connecticut wilderness is the scene of *The Courage of Sarah Noble* (Scribner, 1954) in which an eight-year-old girl shows her courage by keeping house for her father and comes to know little Indian children much like herself. Walter D. Edmond's *The Matchlock Gun* (Dodd, 1941) is a dramatic account of how a boy of ten in the wilderness of New York saves his mother and baby sister in a terrible Indian raid during the French and Indian War. Suitable also for younger readers is Elizabeth Coatsworth's *Away Goes Sally* (Macmillan, 1934), which pictures a little girl of the year 1800, transported in her house on runners through the deep snows of winter all the way from Maine to Massachusetts.

The witchcraft days of New England, as has already been said, are dramatically presented for young adolescents in Elizabeth Speare's *The Witch of Blackbird Pond* (Houghton, 1958). Two books equally useful are Esther Forbes' junior novel, *Johnny Tremain* (Houghton, 1943), the story of a boy who plays an adolescent's part in the early days of the Revolution, and Rebecca Caudill's *Tree of Freedom* (Viking, 1949), the very human account of a family's trek westward from North Carolina carrying with them the ideals of their Huguenot ancestors. Both stories climax in a sense of responsibility for passing on to later generations the watchword of freedom. Several of William O. Steele's books like *Wilderness Journey* (Harcourt, 1953) and *Winter Danger* (Harcourt, 1954) deal similarly with the wilderness trek. Perhaps his most read book is *The Perilous Road* (Harcourt, 1958), which tells the story of Chris and his brother, who were on opposite sides in the bitter struggle in the War between the States. Harold Keith adds a new chapter to that struggle in his *Rifles for Watie* (Crowell, 1957), which deals with the maturing of Watie through gruelling experiences in the West with the Cherokee rebels and his ultimate understanding of both sides in the conflict. In *Across Five Aprils* (Follett, 1964) Irene Hunt personalizes the issues of the war in an intimate and moving account of how it touched the lives of a closely knit family on a remote farm in southern Illinois.

Very different from these stories written especially for adolescents is James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) (Scribner, 1947). Older readers are introduced in it to *The Leather Stocking Tales.* This story of the escape of the daughters of a general in the French and Indian Wars with the aid of a scout and two Mohicans is told with notable suspense. It reveals also the author's knowledge of the folkways of the red man and the civilization of the white man as seen through the eyes of the Indians.

Of all the stories of pioneer days in the Middle West, Carol Ryrie Brink's *Caddie Woodlawn* (Macmillan, 1935) is undoubtedly the favorite. Its wealth of human and historical detail together with the excitement of Indian hostilities finally overcome by Caddie herself makes this warm family story a unique contribution to historical fiction for upper grade boys and girls.

Literature for children in this country has gained immeasurably from an influx of authors of foreign birth who, remaining in the United States, have written their recollections of childhood in their native lands. Kate Seredy, coming from Hungary during the Depression, gave to English-speaking children her priceless story of *The Good Master* (Viking, 1935) and of life on his farm in Hungary. Her impressive retelling in Biblical prose of *The White Stag* (Viking, 1937), with its dramatic and ethereal illustrations, presents the Huns' version of a chosen people who, as in the Biblical story, were led by the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night.

Dhan Gopal Mukerji's Hindu philosophy permeates his dramatic war story, *Gay-Neck* (Dutton, 1927), about a carrier pigeon in World War I. Warm family relationships characterize Hilda Van Stockum's *The Cottage at Bantry Bay* (Viking, 1938), which is shot through with Irish lore, and *The Winged Watchman* (Farrar, 1962), a touching account of the bravery and the suffering of a Dutch family during the days of the German occupation of Holland.

Meindert De Jong wrote *The Wheel on the School* (Harper, 1954) about his childhood experiences in a Dutch fishing village, where the return of the storks every year assured the villagers of good luck. With the American Air Force in China during World War I, he found the background for *The House of Sixty Fathers* (Harper, 1956), the story of a little Chinese boy, befriended by the men of the Air Force while he sought in the midst of the horrors of war for his family from whom he was separated during the early days of the Japanese invasion. Mrs. Margot Benary-Isbert has written thought-provoking stories of German youth during and after the war, one of the best-loved being *The Ark* (Harper, 1953).

Ludwig Bemelmans' childhood in the Austrian Tyrol is reflected in his charming story of Hansi (*Hansi,* Viking, 1934). An unexpected sojourn in a Paris hospital gave him the idea for the adventures of Madeline (*Madeline,* Viking, 1939). Both these books are for primary grade children. Most impressive of Taro Yashima's stories of Japan is *Crow Boy* (Viking, 1955), a tale of the strange shy child who blossomed out when his real talents were discovered by a sympathetic teacher. One suspects that Momo, the little girl in New York who longed for rain so that she could put on her new boots and carry her new umbrella, is his own little American-born child (*Umbrella,* Viking 1958).

Native American authors, also, have deepened our children's understanding of other nations today and yesterday. During a long stay in the Orient, Thomas Handforth wrote for younger children the story of Mei Li (*Mei Li,* Doubleday, 1938), the vigorous tomboy of North China who challenged her brother in all the activities of the fair. Striking pictures in black and white make her country and its customs real to American children. In *Nine Days to Christmas* (Viking, 1952) Marie Ets has captured the gaiety and richness of color of Mexico during the Christmas festival time. With the help of Aurora Labastida, children's librarian of the Benjamin Franklin Library in Mexico City, she was able to picture the lives of upper class children to offset the usual presentation of poverty-stricken Indians. René d'Harnoncourt's illustrations for Elizabeth Morrow's *The Painted Pig* (Knop, 1930) reproduce in gay colors many of the toys in his own Mexican collection. Little Pedro's longing for a painted china pig with roses on his back and a rosebud on his tail is the basis for a picture book full of Mexican flavor.

Marjorie Flack's *The Story about Ping* (Viking, 1933) has endeared both China and the little duck to American children. Kurt Wiese's intimate knowledge of the scenes he reproduced colorfully makes even the slightest detail of life on the Yangtse duck farm full of interest. Mischievous little Pear (*Little Pear,* Harcourt, 1931) in Eleanor Lattimore's story of China for young readers is a favorite throughout our country. So also is Natalie Carlson's roguish family under the bridge, *Family Under the Bridge,* (Harper, 1958), in Paris. A dramatic incident in the life of Napoleon forms the background for Ruth Robbins' *The Emperor and the Drummer Boy* (Parnassus, 1962).

After her work with the Navajos in this country, Ann Nolan Clark served with the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in Latin America. Out of this experience came *The Secret of the Andes* (Viking, 1952), a moving story of the old man and the Peruvian boy destined to succeed him as keeper and breeder of the Incas' llama flock and guardian of their gold. For older pupils she also wrote *Santiago* (Viking, 1955), a discerning account of a Guatemalan youth's return to his Indian culture after having been brought up in a Spanish home and as the protégé of a North American family.

Monica Shannon's *Dobry* (Viking, 1934) pictures a sensitive Bulgarian shepherd boy whose Christmas créche, molded out of snow, wins for him the chance to go to Art School in Budapest. A lively story of British and American children in modern Lebanon is Belle D. Rugh's *The Crystal Mountain* (Houghton, 1955). Louise Rankin's *Daughter of the Mountains* (Viking, 1944) is a slowly moving story with a rich background in the mountains of Tibet, in which a little girl makes her way down to Calcutta to rescue her golden-haired dog. All these books bring the children of the world very close to American readers.

Another group of authors has given intermediate and junior high school pupils a remarkable series of books with historical settings. Before 1900 Howard Pyle had written *Otto of the Silver Hand* (Scribner, 1899 and 1957), set in the time of the robber barons of Germany, and *Men of Iron* (Harper, 1891), a tale of the days of knighthood in England. Some forty years later Eric Kelly told the story of a courageous Polish boy, the trumpeter of Krakow, who played beyond the broken note of an ancient trumpet tune to warn his people of danger (*The Trumpeter of Krakow,* Macmillan, 1928). The mystery of the great Tarnov crystal is its theme. Medieval and Elizabethan England form the background of several stories for older children: Marguerite de Angeli's *The Door in the Wall* (Doubleday, 1949) reveals the heroism of the lame son of an English lord, who won knighthood in the thirteenth century when he braved enemy lines to rescue the men surrounded in the castle. Elizabeth Janet Gray's *Adam of the Road* (Viking, 1942), a tale of a medieval minstrel and his son, whose dog adds considerably to the suspense of the story, and *I Will Adventure* (Viking, 1952), an account of a boy who, destined to be a page in London, meets Shakespeare and a travelling company on the road and changes his aspiration. Marchette Chute used the same settings for her historical novels called *The Innocent Wayfaring* (Dutton, 1955) and *The Wonderful Winter* (Dutton, 1954). These books are of value for the background they furnish for literary study rather than for depth or dramatic power.

The opposite is true of two remarkable stories for older readers which have appeared within the last four years – Elizabeth Speare's *The Bronze Bow* (Houghton, 1961) and Harry Behn's *The Faraway Lurs* (World, 1963). *The Bronze Bow* is set in the early Christian era, its hero filled with hatred for the Roman soldiers who have killed his father and mother. He meets Jesus and is won over by his teachings. The remarkable delineation of both characters and setting make this story a memorable one. *The Faraway Lurs* (World, 1963) is the beautiful, mystical tale of the love of a young Danish boy and girl in the bronze age who are sacrificed in the end to tribal superstitions and jealousies. The poetic beauty of the telling makes this a supremely valuable book for older children.

Animal stories are universal favorites among boys and girls. They think first of Jack London's *Call of the Wild* (Macmillan, 1956) in which adventure and excitement prevail in the story of the dog of the Klondike, as he reverts, step by step, to his wolf origins. *Lassie Come-Home* (Winston, 1940) is much more than a dog story in its remarkably vivid setting in both England and Scotland and the warmth of family relationships in the Yorkshire miner's home. No one has surpassed Marguerite Henry's vivid horse stories with their remarkably rich and detailed settings. *Misty of Chincoteague* (Rand, 1947) is a prime favorite of the children, combining, as it does, thrilling adventure among the wild horses of Chincoteague with an interesting family story. Godolphin, King of the Wind, opens up to young readers adventures in Morocco, France, and England with an ancestor of Man-o-War and his devoted little Arab stable-boy (*King of the Wind*, Rand, 1948). *Brighty of the Grand Canyon* (Rand, 1953) has also won a place in the hearts of American children because of its interesting narrative and its setting in the heart of the Grand Canyon in Arizona, where Brighty helps to play host to more than one celebrity. *Smoky, the Cowhorse* (Scribner, 1954), written by Will James in the vernacular of the cowboy, reveals the warm sympathy between cowboy and pony as it tells boys what they want to know about the round-up, the corral, and the rodeo. In *Big Red* (Holiday, 1945), Jim Kjelgaard gives a dramatic and realistic account of a boy and an Irish setter who grow up together in the Wintapi wilderness and of their finally tracking down and outlaw bear.

Very different in tone is Sheila Burnford's *The Incredible Journey* (Little, 1961), which fascinates both adult and juvenile readers by its story of the fortitude, loyalty, and sheer daring of the cat, the bull terrier, and the Labrador retriever as they combat weather, hardships, and wild animals to follow their master across Canada. An old recluse, surprised in his forest retreat, discovers in Rutherford Montgomery's *Kildee House* (Doubleday, 1949), how alternately fascinating and problematic skunk and raccoon neighbors in the old redwood tree can be. Jean George, too, describes with quiet power and detail in *My Side of the Mountain* (Dutton, 1959) a similar retreat to a Catskill tree house.

Imaginative stories for little children often center in a much loved animal like Louise Fatio's *The Happy Lion* (McGraw, 1954) a gracious, outgoing little creature who, with engaging good spirits, sets out the day his cage door is left open, to return the calls of friends who have visited him at the zoo. Munro Leaf's *The Story of Ferdinand* (Viking, 1936), with its humorous pictures by Robert Lawson interpretive of the Spanish setting, is a favorite with children from six to eighty-six as it faces, with the peace-loving little bull, the rigors of a Spanish bullfight. Nothing short of a vicious bee can move him from his comfortable seat against a leafy tree. Robert Lawson has also given children a delicately sensitive story of the animals who inhabit Rabbit Hill (*Rabbit Hill*, Viking, 1944). The hopes and anxieties of the reader are often mirrored in those of the tiny creatures as they watch both eagerly and anxiously for the "new folks comin'." *The Tough Winter* (Viking, 1954) carries the little animals of this very human colony into another more direful winter when their fears are all but justified.

Recently, in what seems to be a resurgence of delightful imaginative stories, three authors have written with humor and insight of other small creatures brought intimately to life: George Seldon in *The Cricket in Times Square* (Farrar, 1960), Mary Stolz in *Belling the Tiger* (Harper, 1961) an extension of the old tale of belling the cat, and Doris Gates's *The Cat and Mrs. Cary* (Viking, 1962) a mystery of parakeet smuggling, in which the talking cat plays a knowing part.

Both animals and a small boy's imagination enter into James Daugherty's *Andy and the Lion* (Viking, 1938), in which Andy suffers from too heavy a diet of "lion" books from the library, and likewise into Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are* (Harper, 1963). In the latter, "the wild things" are pursued by a small boy who has been sent to his room for behaving "wildly." In *And to Think That I Saw It on Mulberry Street* (Vanguard, 1937) by Dr. Seuss, a little boy turns an ordinary horse and cart on

Mulberry Street into an exciting circus band wagon drawn by an elephant and two giraffes. *The Five Hundred Hats of Bartholomew Cubbins* (Vanguard, 1938) and *Horton Hatches the Eggs* (Random, 1940) are in similarly graphic style and rollicking verse.

Another group of highly imaginative stories for younger children resembles the fairy or folk tale. Wanda Gag's inimitable, rythmically told story of *Millions of Cats* (Coward, 1928) with its irresistible refrain of "Cats here, Cats there" is told in the German tradition of her ancestors. Alice Dalgliesh's *The Bears on Hemlock Mountain* (Scribner, 1952) preserves a delightful old Pennsylvania folk tale for children. Equal in popularity because of its humor and its repetitive quality is Claire H. Bishop's *The Five Chinese Brothers* (Coward, 1938).

For children a little older, Elizabeth Coatsworth's *The Cat Who Went to Heaven* (Macmillan, 1938), told in rhythmic and poetic language, presents the Japanese legend of a cat who overcame the anger of the Buddha. It is reverently presented by an artist with words. Two delightful modern fairy tales with intriguing heroines are James Thurber's *Many Moons* (Harcourt, 1943), in which through the cleverness of the court jester a little princess gets the moon, and Elizabeth Enright's *Tatsinda* (Harcourt, 1963), a gentle satire of the kingdom which rejects a beautiful princess because her hair is golden and her eyes are brown, whereas in its country, eyes are greenish blue and hair, a glittering white. The colors and illustrations in both books are as enchanting as the plots.

Marie Ets has captured with sympathy and imagination the play-life of little children. Her picture book, *In the Forest* (Viking, 1944), tells of a child who dreams that on his walk with a horn and a paper hat through the forest he gathers into a parade behind him a dozen animals, both wild and tame. He is blood brother to the little girl in her *Play with Me* (Viking, 1955), who tries to catch the little creatures of the meadow for playmates but discovers that if she sits very quietly, they will come to her. The imaginative black and white drawings are peculiarly appropriate to both stories.

A group of distinguished picture books for little children personalize machines and other elements in the small child's environment. One of the most beautiful and significant is Virginia Lee Burton's *The Little House* (Houghton, 1942), which imaginatively brings to life the little house once smiling beneath apple trees in the country and then eventually finding itself under the dirty railway tracks in a great city. The town has grown out around it. Perhaps the most popular of all her picture books is *Mike Mulligan and His Steam Shovel* (Houghton, 1939), the story of how Mike Mulligan digs himself into the cellar of a big city building and solves his predicament by making the steam shovel into a furnace, in which he henceforth tends the fire.

A great favorite also is Hardie Gramatky's *Little Toot* (Putnam, 1939), a tiny tugboat who sulks in New York harbor when reprimanded by the other tugs for merely enjoying life in the water. Eventually, he redeems himself by pulling a big liner off the rocks in a storm. Children rejoice that the author has celebrated Little Toot's twenty-fifth birthday this year by bringing out a charming sequel called *Little Toot Goes to London* (Putnam, 1964) with colorful pictures of that great city and the life of the Thames. Once more a hero, Little Toot is towed home by none other than the Queen Elizabeth herself.

Hugh Lofting's *The Voyages of Dr. Doolittle* (Lippincott, 1922) and other books in which the good doctor chooses to minister to the animals of Spider-monkey Island delight the children because of their lively humor and incongruous situations. Carl Sandburg's *Rootabaga Stories* (Harcourt, 1922-23), appearing at about the same time, are rhythmically told nonsense stories of comical animals, Cream Puff villages, and such characters as Gimme the Ax and Blixie Bimber. The wedding procession of the Rag Doll and the Broom Handle and other ridiculous themes never fail to raise a laugh.

Du Bois's popular science story, *Twenty-One Balloons* (Viking, 1947), details the scientific and social wonders of a volcanic island in the Pacific as if they were discoveries of Professor Sherman on a balloon trip around the world. *My Father's Dragon* (Random, 1948) by Ruth Gannett is a hilarious tale of a small boy's adventures on a jungle island in which by an ingenious series of bribes, he saves the little dragon from wild animals who have tied him up to ferry them to the mainland.

Miss Hickory (Viking, 1946), Carolyn S. Bailey's delicately imaginative story, introduces a New Hampshire woman with a hickory nut for a head and an apple twig for limbs, who lives in her corncob house under a lilac bush. When Crow disputes possession with her, he takes her to a new home in a robin's nest, from which she shares life with the other inhabitants of the orchard, especially a beautiful Christmas celebration. *Hitty, Her First Hundred Years* (Macmillan, 1929) is about a little wooden doll who wrote the story of her own life, in which she was wrecked during a fire in the tropics, was worshipped by the heathen as an idol, delighted the heart of a missionary's child, and finally wound up at a Jenny Lind concert in Philadelphia.

The year 1952 brought another distinguished imaginative story for the middle grades in E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (Harper, 1952) a universal favorite with children. Through her care for William, her pet pig, a little girl learns to understand the language of the animals. Charlotte, the spider, comforts Wilbur and saves him from the fall butchering although she herself dies in the end. The children's questioning as to why she has to die leads to very interesting discussion of the story. Finally, in 1962, Madeleine L'Engle gave upper grade children an intriguing bit of science fiction called *A Wrinkle in Time* (Farrar, 1962), in which two children and an older friend accompany three beings from another world to a far-off planet on which they find their lost father. The concern of the very varied personalities for each other and for the fate of the father lends considerable maturity to the story.

The breadth and the depth of American fiction for children today are greater than they have ever been, and better still, the children are reading it. Recently, too, firms have been preparing for older boys and girls at the junior high school level selections from adult classics which they can enjoy. The Macmillan Company's *The Gold-Bug and Other Tales and Poems* (1953) by Edgar Allan Poe is a collection selected for younger readers by Elva S. Smith. For a similar group *O. Henry's Best Stories* (1953), selected by Lou P. Bunce for the Globe Publishing Company, is suitable.

IV

America's Heroes and Heroines in Biography for Young Readers

Walt Whitman, picking up a favorite biography, once exclaimed: "Camerado, this is no book. This is a man!" Several hundred biographies for children have been published in this country since 1950. Certainly this new emphasis upon human achievement has made a significant contribution to the children's knowledge and understanding of the men and women who have made our world what it is today. Furthermore, biography is "such stuff as dreams are made on." [21]

Our question is, which of them are literature? Some recent biographies are objective narratives of lives of action in which young readers have tremendous interest. Some fail to distinguish between fact and fiction; others are primarily reference sources with little lift of spirit in them. There is time to discuss only a few which are distinguished for literary merit, for accuracy of fact, for revelation of character, and for that insight into human personality which molds a fact by thought and feeling.

Four biographies for older readers have won the Newbery Award: Cornelia Meigs's

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[21] No teacher can afford to miss May Hill Arbuthnot's recent description of the whole field of biography in Chapter 17 of the new edition of *Children and Books* (Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964).

Invincible Louisa (Little, 1933), the story of Louisa Alcott, James Daugherty's *Daniel Boone* (Viking, 1939), Elizabeth Yates's *Amos Fortune, Free Man* (Dutton, 1950), and Jean Latham's *Carry On, Mr. Bowditch* (Houghton, 1955). Prime favorite among these is *Daniel Boone* because of the spectacular quality of the hero's life, the vigorous swing of its style, the graphic use of language, and the dramatic quality of the incidents. James Daugherty's illustrations are as vigorous as the story. Very different, but quietly moving is Elizabeth Yates's beautiful story of Amos Fortune, the Negro slave abducted from an African religious fête and sold into slavery in Boston. *Invincible Louisa* gave to girls the story of a favorite writer, whose struggles were as great as those of Jo March and her sisters. *Carry On, Mr. Bowditch* opened up a whole new area of biography of less dramatic heroes whose contribution to modern American life were exceedingly significant.

Elizabeth Janet Gray's *Penn* (Viking, 1938) is another towering biography of a very different personality. Carl Sandburg's *Abe Lincoln Grows Up* (Harcourt, 1928), adapted from the early chapters of *The Prairie Years,* is as quiet and as thoughtful as the boy Abe himself. Setting and character blend as in the chapter "Chores and Silence," which ends with the remark, "Silence went into the making of him."

Certain names stand out in the story of biographical writing for young people. James Daugherty's is one. In addition to his *Daniel Boone* he has given us a dramatic *Poor Richard* (Viking, 1941), *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Pioneers of Oregon* (Viking, 1953), *Of Courage Undaunted* (Viking, 1951), the story of Lewis and Clark and their companions on the trail, and finally *Abraham Lincoln* (Viking, 1943), a somber picture of the Civil War years.

Clara Ingram Judson wrote of the warp and woof of our country's making – the warp being the varied powers of our early leaders who gave strength and support to the design, and the woof, the threads of the people of all nations who wove in and out to make the pattern complete. The heroes of her biographies were characterized in the titles: *Abraham Lincoln, Friend of the People* (Wilcox and Follett, 1950), *George Washington, Leader of the People* (1951), *Thomas Jefferson, Champion of the People* (1952), and *Theodore Roosevelt, Fighting Patriot* (Follett, 1953). After a thorough search for humanizing details in a vast number of authentic sources, she wove them into biographies which made these national heroes come alive for older boys and girls.

Jeanette Eaton has the power to bring to life for older readers a great character in relation to the times in which he lived. She uses a variety of devices, including some characteristic of fiction as well as of biography. Her *David Livingstone, Foe of Darkness* (Morrow, 1947) and *Gandhi, Fighter Without a Sword* (Morrow, 1950) have brought to American young people two characters about which little material has been available. One of India's best known children's librarians chose the Gandhi biography as the best book on India yet published for American children. In addition to these, Miss Eaton has written outstanding biographies of national heroes, such as *Narcissa Whitman, Pioneer of Oregon* (Harcourt, 1951), *Leader by Destiny: George Washington, Man and Patriot* (Harcourt, 1938), and *That Lively Man, Ben Franklin* (Harcourt, 1948). Her latest biography, *America's Own Mark Twain* (Morrow, 1958), sets the life of the author in the national scene of his day.

Jean Latham's *Carry On, Mr. Bowditch* (Houghton, 1955) is a lively account of the struggles of a young man in sailing vessel days in New England. By his perseverance and ambition, he gained for himself an education in mathematics and astronomy, finally writing *The American Practical Navigator,* which is still the accepted textbook in the United States Naval Academy. Miss Latham's later books dealt with a variety of unsung heroes such as Cyrus W. Field, *Young Man in a Hurry* (Harper, 1958), the inventor of the Atlantic cable, and *On Stage, Mr. Jefferson* (Wilcox and Follett, 1952), the story of the actor.

Certain shorter biographies, which are popular and well documented, are Esther Forbes's *America's Paul Revere* (Houghton, 1946), Stewart Holbrook's *America's Ethan Allen* (Houghton, 1949), and Henry Steele Commager's *America's Robert E. Lee* (Houghton, 1951). They can be read by children from the fifth grade up. Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *Paul Revere and the Minute Men* (Random, 1950) gives a vivid description of the ride.

There is no time to discuss in detail the many valuable biographies of men and women who have made a variety of contributions to American life. A few will illustrate the trend. Helen Keller's *The Story of My Life* (1903) (Doubleday, 1954) was one of the earliest. *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist* by Shirley Graham and George D. Lipscomb (Messner, 1944) is another, along with Ann Petry's *Harriet Tubman, Conductor of the Underground Railroad* (Crowell, 1955). May McNeer has followed this tradition in her *Martin Luther* (Abingdon, 1953) and *Armed with Courage* (Abingdon, 1957), with its short accounts of the lives of men and women of great moral strength. Hildegarde Swift's *From the Eagle's Wing: A Biography of John Muir* (Morrow, 1962) describes the opening of our national parks. Sidney Rosen, in the midst of growing interest in science, has given boys and girls excellent biographies of Galileo and Von Hohenheim in *Galileo and the Magic Numbers* (Little, 1958) and *Dr. Paracelsus* (Little, 1959). An interesting innovation in format and illustration is the *Horizon* magazine's *Joan of Arc* (American Heritage, 1963), one of the Caravel books.

A few writers have done extraordinarily good work in introducing biography to boys and girls in the primary and middle grades. Edgar Parin and Ingri d'Aulaire are among the most successful. Their full page lithographs in color and in sepia tones in books published by Doubleday help to interest little children in Christopher Columbus (*Christopher Columbus,* 1955), Abraham Lincoln (*Abraham Lincoln,* 1939, 1957), Benjamin Franklin (*Benjamin Franklin,* 1950), and Leif Ericson (*Leif the Lucky,* 1950). Buffalo Bill (*Buffalo Bill,* 1952) and Pocahantas (*Pocahantas,* 1946) are perhaps prime favorites of them all.

For younger readers also are Alice Dalgliesh's *The Columbus Story* (Scribner, 1955) and *Ride on the Wind* (Scribner, 1956), an interpretation of Lindbergh's own story. Both are interestingly written and have an appeal to older readers of limited ability. Several other biographies for younger children have the same appeal – Esther Averill's *Daniel Boone* (Harper, 1955), for example, and Clyde R. Bulla's *Squanto, Friend of the White Man* (Crowell, 1954). Genevieve Foster's *George Washington* (Scribner, 1949) and her *Andrew Jackson* (Scribner, 1951), both called "initial" biographies, are told in live, unbiased fashion, especially well adapted to the lower middle grades. Esther Averill's *Cartier Sails the St. Lawrence* (Harper, 1956), which is securely grounded in Cartier's own log books, combines scholarship with drama in its presentation of historic fact. Walter C. Hodge's *Columbus Sails* (Coward, 1950) is a combination of drama and biography, told as it is, by an eyewitness.

Nor are the fine arts forgotten in biographies for the middle grades. Marguerite Henry's *Benjamin West and His Cat, Grimalkin* (Bobbs, 1947) is a favorite with children. The long series of biographies of musicians written by Opal Wheeler, sometimes assisted by Sybil Deucher, has met a real need for younger boys and girls. *Stephen Foster and His Little Dog Tray* (Dutton, 1941), *Franz Schubert and His Many Friends* (Dutton, 1939), and *Ludwig Beethoven and the Chiming Tower Bells* (Dutton, 1942) are among the best of them.

American literature as such is not taught in the elementary schools of this country because the basis for selection is always (and undoubtedly should be) suitability of theme for the stage of development of the children concerned. In any list which purports to present the world's great classics for children, nearly two thirds of the selections will come from Britain and from the incomparable fairy tales of Europe and Asia.

The literary heritage in its entirety needs to be kept in mind in choosing literary material for the elementary school. The main question is whether, in the pressure of so-called "practical reading" or "skill building materials" we are forgetting the truly great stories and poems which make up the cultural heritage of children. [22]

Another important question is this: Are we teaching the reading skills necessary to the understanding and appreciation of literature as such: how to go sleuthing for clues to the outcome of a story, how to use the author's hints as to the motivation and character of the people in the story, how to approach the reading of biography in contrast to the reading of fiction, how to yield to appropriateness of rhythm and to the pictorial and suggestive power of words in poetry? Upon such skills depends the ability of boys and girls to enter into their literary inheritance both as Americans and as citizens of the world.

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[22] Dora V. Smith, "The Children's Literary Heritage," *Elementary English,* XXXXI (November, 1964), 3-16.

American Literature for Children: Implications for School Programs

Ruth A. French

Dora V. Smith's world of literature opens up two contrasting paths for consideration. I stop to wonder at the junction – because the nutritive climate for growing in each is so uniquely demanding.

The first path beckons me to a quiet refreshing place, a grassy clearing beside a summer's stream. Here the children of Emily Dickinson's poetry are born and flower.[1] Adults with the wisdom and understanding and love of the prophets counsel their rearing. Curiosity shapes their learning. Nature fashions and joins their play. The rising sun is the children's favorite playmate in their game of toss and catch. At dawn each morning, children tiptoe to the top of the knoll. They quietly toss down garlands of ribbon to encircle their golden love. If caught, he bounces up, and faster up – as the children race with the ribbons – until bumping and spilling, he is airborne, and gradually drifts away.

But conscience with cruel intrusion awakes me with such fright that I flee this ideal place.

The second path is a machine path hungry for travelers. Each day it connects people with work to be done and places to get to. Huge hammers have chipped and chiseled away rocks to carve a roadway. Earth movers have sliced away mountains for its making. Molten black rubber cools to beckon endless moving lines of speeding wheels. Each day small children trudge across these teeming pathways. Being unripe for traffic, they do not yet travel through on four wheels. They either transcend the arches or walk through the tunnels. Day after day, year after year increasing numbers of children trudge up this automated path to becoming. Certain ones reach self-fulfilment and are inducted into adult society, but others falter at hazardous points all along the way. These are the city children entrusted to their teachers. How can teachers transform their knowledge into better learning opportunities for children?

Two proposals arise from my belief that, at the present time, children's literature does not have the important place it deserves in the elementary school program. Based on the information from classrooms I know, literature is not a core part of the curriculum but is displaced by any variety of "new programs" demanding time from an already crowded school day.

What is needed is an inspired personal commitment to the worth of literature. For only if I believe that literature is of significant value in making people better human beings, will I ever give it a devoted try in teaching.

Reluctance to accept a human relations approach to literature seems irrational to me from two points of view: First, it is congruent with current personality and learning theories to which many of us subscribe. Second, it is supported by an increasing accumulation of experiential data tried out in classrooms throughout the nation. The work pioneered by Hilda Taba[2] and a forward looking group, over twenty years ago, has been extended by others, namely: Margaret Heaton, Fanny Shaftel, Walter Loban, David Russell, and Muriel Crosby. These leaders however, include only our personal friends, many of whom you know and respect through their participation in this organization, the National Council of Teachers of English. Out of these action programs has evolved the important concept that feelings, attitudes, and personal values are as important as intellectual understandings in motivating human behavior. How different our society might become, if every teacher of the young was committed to and skilled in the education of attitudes and feelings!

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[1] Emily Dickinson, *Poems for Youth* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950).

[2] Hilda Taba and others, *With Focus on Human Relations* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950).

My second concern is that provision be made so that children will have sequential experiences with literature, with increasing scope and depth as they grow in maturational understanding. An organizational framework for the literature program would provide such a sequence. The design would not limit but would extend the present program. Criteria should be developed to provide for balance, flexibility, variety, personal interests, and special need. Such a framework might be comparable to the Social Studies Framework of California which provides a scope of study areas with a suggested sequence for grades kindergarten through twelve. Individual school districts have great leeway in developing local programs to fit their special needs.

The advantages of an organizational framework are the following:

1) To provide a significant place for literature in the elementary school.
2) To design readiness experiences, either actual or vicarious, for those children who need bridges to understanding. Whole areas of literature are closed for those who have no real experiences with which to relate events described in books.
3) To foster the integration of learnings within the child. Fragmented learnings, unlike general ideas, are not applicable to other situations. The adult can synthesize, select, and apply to new situations, but the child needs guidance in performing these operations. Within such a framework, the curriculum planner and the teacher would be cognizant of developing functional learnings. As Miss Smith so clearly indicated, the understandings of particular selections in literature are extended and deepened when they are a part of the social studies program, of history, or some other content field. Frequently knowing a place, a condition, an event, the technology of a people, and their stage of progress lends richness to the understanding and appreciation of characters portrayed by the author. Teachers usually interweave factual text information with literary selections so that each is enhanced by the other. Probably the folklore, mythology, and legends are representative of the deepest core of a people and consequently demand a background of factual knowledge for the greatest enjoyment. Literature content, however, would include all areas of human expression and would be a part of the content subjects only when such a relationship enhanced meaning for the learner.

Miss Smith's presentation is rich not only with the sources, but also with suggestions as to methods and procedures. I'm pleased that she mentions the need for literature with special interest for boys because they are a group we need to interest. Educators are examining current programs with the intent of building in more activities which challenge their aggressive energy, which meet their developmental needs, and which reflect the advantages of belonging to the male sex of our society. Paraphrasing Dora's words, I say, "the bantam-weight quarterback who can take off his football suit and put on a Sir Walter Raleigh's costume for the school play is on his way to becoming a man."

Using various approaches to develop readiness for a story is important. Miss Smith mentions the importance of storytelling as preparation for reading somewhat later. Television plays of *The Miracle Worker, The Yearling,* and *The Diary of Anne Frank* have interested our children in books they will enjoy reading later. Our primary teachers find that if young children can attend school plays in which their older brothers and sisters participate, they have a personal involvement in stories which have been dramatized for them.

The question of suitability and appropriateness of the book both for the individual and the maturational level is a crucial one. Briefly, controversy which damages a child's confidence in his parent's judgment or focuses on making one child feel different from his peers extolls a high human price for whatever benefits accrue from the reading of a single book.

Her idea of first reading for plot, or suspense satisfaction, is an ingenious one. How much greater then can be the powers of concentration for whatever is selected for analysis. Certainly if children are to feel personal satisfaction and enjoyment from reading, analytic demands are carefully appraised as to their relative value.

It is worthy to note that the literature Miss Smith recognizes is as devoted to the inner world of the imagination as to the outer world of reality. For the creator or innovator, these worlds are not distinct entities, but are fluid, free flowing and interchanging, each a projection of the other. It is important that educators do not place a hierachy value on reading related to science, mathematics, or objective reality in making book selections, for freedom of choice is the key to personal enjoyment.

A most poignant question, I agree, is, how many children of this generation will know the great literary heritage which is their birthright? For they are submerged in an avalanche of machines and materials used to lengthen eye span, develop vocabulary, test memory, and increase reading speed.

John Connelly, an anthropologist at San Francisco State College, is aware that in our culture intellectual and academic speed have assumed a morality dimension in measuring human worth. [3] The late Howard Lane was also concerned about harsh rating criteria as a measurement of achievement. [4] He used to remind his students that a child was not a race horse they were developing. Perhaps speed criteria are more appropriate as applied to the field of missiles or planetary rockets. What revolutionary changes might occur if goals were described in terms of *values*, not measurement! The question then becomes, "Is he a reading using person?" not, "Can he read?"

The theme underlying Miss Smith's presentation is one to which we also are devoted, that is, a gifted teacher for every child. It is gratifying to report to Dora Smith that great numbers of teachers are seeking and discovering new ways to vitalize their own teaching and to enhance learning for their students, remembering however, in order to sustain their courage, that great teaching requires time: for knowing oneself, for understanding others, and for developing infinite skill, and humanness. As a creative teacher herself, Dora Smith brings us a treasure trove of resources, ideas, and understandings of literature gleaned throughout a lifetime. We accept these gifts with gratitude because we know that children's reading will be enriched through our own abundant experiences. And so it comes to be that the power and the glory of children's literature is that it has no boundaries.

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[3] John Connelly, "Threatening the Sense of Self-Worth," *Childhood Education*, September, 1964, p. 20.

[4] Howard Lane and Mary Beauchamp, *Understanding Human Development* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959).

American Literature: Implications for Children's Reading

Charlemae Rollins

In answer to Dora V. Smith's questions, "What qualities distinguish the literature for children produced in this country?" "What peculiarly American traditions deserve a place in the program of our elementary school?" these suggestions are offered.

The children's books that deal with Negro life in America constitute one of the factors which distinguish the literature for children produced in this country.

Miss Smith very wisely begins with American folklore – which treats, as does all folklore, the ways of life, the customs of a certain people, their tradition and roots. The background of our literary history, to be authentic, must include the period of slavery. Out of this period of servitude came some of our best-known traditional materials; namely, the Uncle Remus tales by Joel Chandler Harris. He attributed the tales to a mythical slave character, "Uncle Remus."

In her book, *Joel Chandler Harris – Folklorist,* Stella Brewer Brookes has analyzed and arranged the Uncle Remus tales according to Myths, Proverbs, Trickster Tales, etc. [1] She has traced them directly to their African counterparts. Some of the same themes are found in the folklore of various other peoples.

The originals of many of the Uncle Remus tales have been criticized and judged "objectionable" by some educators. They were written in a dialect that is authentic and true to that period, but this dialect also included the derogatory terms "darky," "nigger," "pickaninny," and "coon." Harris has also been criticized because he used "Uncle Remus" to portray the philosophy of "the contented, happy life of the slaves."

Margaret Wise Brown, in her adaptation of the Uncle Remus tales, *Bre'r Rabbit* (Harper, 1941), has helped to make Uncle Remus more acceptable for us to use with today's youth. She has simplified the dialect and omitted much of the objectionable language. She has used only the stories of Bre'r Rabbitt, Bre'r Fox, Bre'r Mud Turtle, and other animals. Not included are those stories which criticize the slaves for running away, for taking food when they are hungry, and the stories which glorified plantation life during the slavery period.

John Henry is as truly American as Paul Bunyan, Davy Crockett, and Mike Fink. He is best portrayed through the vigorous humor of James Daugherty's illustrations for *John Henry and the Double-Jointed Steam Drill* (Messner, 1945) and *John Henry and His Hammer* by Harold Felton (Knopf, 1952). Both of these books are excellent for storytelling or reading aloud.

Additional Negro folk characters are "Stack-O-Lee" and "Molly Means" who are described in moving verse by Margaret Walker, Negro poet, in her book, *For My People* (Yale, 1942). These are more suitable for older children, since she uses some rather realistic and quite colorful descriptions of her characters.

Old Molly Means was a Hag and a Witch
Child of the devil, the dark and sich,
Her heavy hair hung thick in ropes
And her blazing eyes were black as pitch,
Imp at three – and wench at 'leben,
She counted her husbands to number seben.

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[1] (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1950).

Our historical background of slavery provides the material for many of the best books about Negroes, both fiction and nonfiction. Miss Smith has listed the best ones. Outstanding among these are the dramatic stories of the Underground Railroad, stirring biographies of great Negro soldiers – from Crispus Attucks, first to shed his blood for American freedom, to the heroes of World War II.

Other American contributions which deserve a place in the program of our elementary schools are the books which deal with the Negro's struggle for freedom, the Reconstruction, and the later history. Among these are the excellent biographies of heroes and heroines of this period: Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Robert Smalls, and others. Hildegarde Swift's *North Star Shining* (Morrow, 1947), a history told in stirring and inspiring verse, beautifully illustrated by Lynd Ward, is extremely useful for verse choir or individual reading aloud.

Emphasis on human achievement has certainly contributed a great deal. The list of books includes many collections of biographies of individual heroes, both contemporary heroes and the older ones. Here we have the lives of great Negroes, both men and women, in books that strengthen the youthful mind that may be searching for truth, for inspiration, for encouragement. These books show that today an individual is no longer judged by the slant of the eye, the color of the skin, or the place where he lives or worships.

In discussing poetry, Miss Smith says, "It will give boys and girls a new vision of what some children have to endure." She very wisely lists some of the most poignant poems for children written by Negro poets: Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Paul Laurence Dunbar. However, in using the dialect poems of Dunbar with children today, some introduction and interpretation is needed. Dunbar's poems, if read alone or used as the only example of the Negro poets, *might* perpetuate a stereotype and present a false picture of the Negro.

A group of Negro mothers in Chicago walked out of an assembly when a class of Negro children, trained by a dedicated white teacher, did one of Dunbar's dialect poems as a choral speech selection. I feel certain that this would not happen today in schools where Dunbar's poems are used with those of other Negro poets, such as Cullen, Hughes, and Gwendolyn Brooks.

The year 1963 marked another forward step in the trend toward which the Negro child finds himself presented as one of many children in both stories and pictures, without any reference whatsoever to race. He is accepted as a part of a group without embarrassing differences – he is simply a different color.

One of the finest examples was the Caldecott Award winning *The Snowy Day*, by Ezra Jack Keats (Viking, 1962), and the more recent *Whistle for Willie* (Viking, 1964), about which Miss Smith comments that only through the glowing illustrations is one able to determine that the little boy is a Negro.

Three other books of this nature are *Two Is a Team*, by Jerrold Beim (Harcourt, 1945); *Fun for Chris*, by Blossom Randall (Albert Whitman, 1956); and *The No-Bark Dog*, by Stan Williamson (Follett, 1962).

New Boy in School, by May Justus (Hastings House, 1963), is a straightforward story of the integration of a Negro first grader. It presents a warm and sincere picture of thoughtful young parents and an understanding teacher. The author is well known and well loved for her portrayal of the children of the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee.

For the middle grades, Louisa Shotwell's *Roosevelt Grady* (World, 1963) presents a Negro migrant family problem. Roosevelt Grady longs to attend a real school and have some permanent friends.

Books for teenagers dealing with contemporary problems help to make America's group life richer, school life more decisive and fruitful, church life (if any) more meaningful, and community life more productive. The following are suggested for teenage reading: *Whispering Willows*, by Elizabeth Friarmood (Doubleday, 1964); *Classmates by Request*, by Hila Colman (Morrow, 1964); *One Summer's Secret*, by Dola DeJong (McKay, 1963); and *Masquerade*, by Dorothy Butters (Macrae Smith, 1961).

Teachers and librarians have helped to achieve what many leaders accept as fact—that books for young people can be used successfully as effective tools to bring enriching experiences to children and youth. They can help to build attitudes of understanding, respect, and acceptance.

Formerly, in all too many books, there were dangerous stereotypes, embarrassing caricatures, and often false pictures of Negro life. We now have some excellent stories that present the everyday problems of discrimination and injustice in a positive, forthright manner. They are neither sensational nor biased, but written with clarity and enough objectivity to give the thoughtful young reader an opportunity to see the problem and use his own judgment concerning the results of intolerance.

Authors, illustrators, and publishers of books for children and young people have been sincerely concerned with the problems that face our youth; problems of discrimination, intolerance, prejudices, integration, and segregation. Parents, teachers, and librarians have also been concerned. They are all working together, using what they agree are effective tools – good books for youths!

Mrs. Augusta Baker, Coordinator of Children's Services of the New York Public Library, has compiled an excellent list of Recommended Books about Negroes for Children, which can be procured from the New York Public Library.